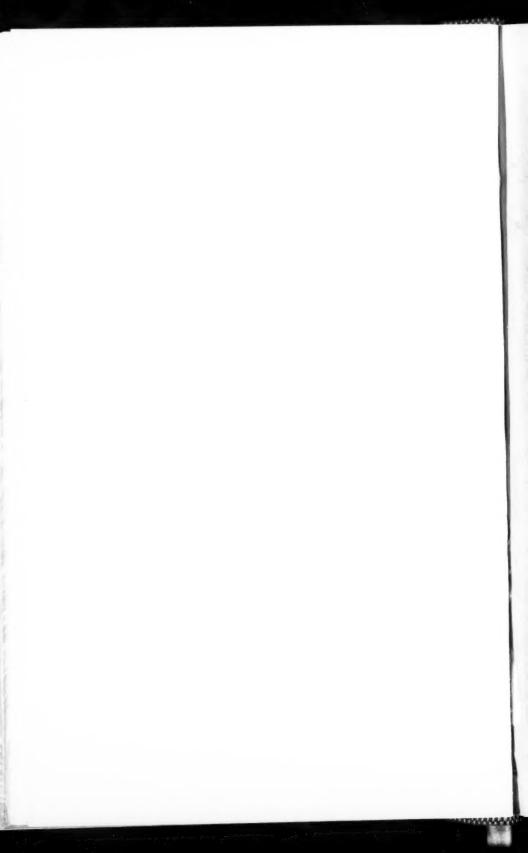
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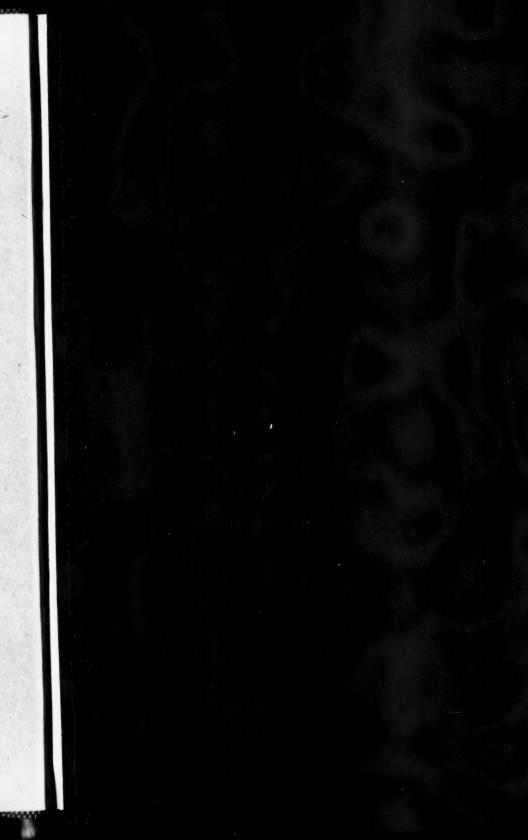
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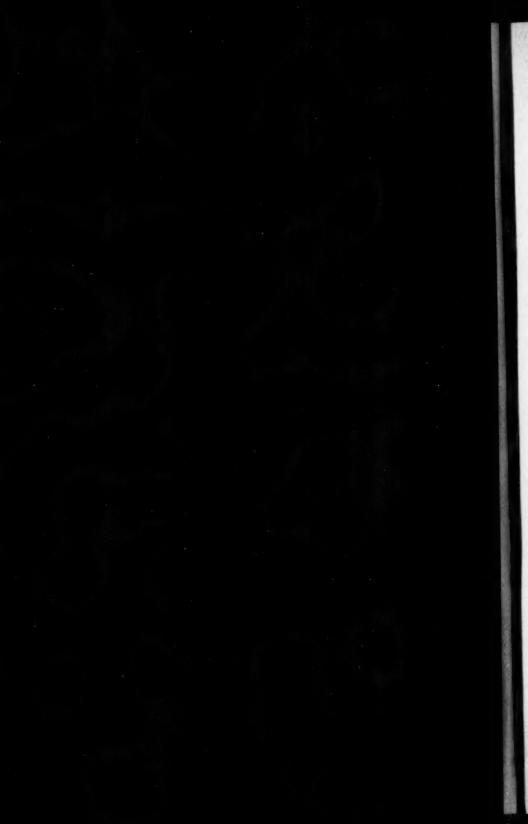
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METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1884.

ART. I.—THE HIGHER CRITICISM OF THE PENTA-TEUCH.

[FIRST ARTICLE.]

That the Pentateuch, but especially the Book of Genesis, is of composite origin, and embodies a variety of ancient documents, is obvious to every critical student. Ancient as well as modern readers observed in the "Book of the Law of Moses" passages which could not well have been written by the great lawgiver himself. The tradition of some revision or reproduction by the hand of Ezra is almost as uniform as that of the Mosaic authorship. It appears in the apocryphal Revelation of Ezra,* in the Clementine Homilies,* and in many of the Christian Fathers.‡ Aben Ezra in the twelfth century, and Carlstadt and Masius in the sixteenth, maintained that the so-called Books of Moses "were not composed by him in their present form, but by Ezra or some other inspired man, who substituted new names of places for old and obsolete ones, by which the memory of events could be best apprehended and preserved." § In the seventeenth century we find Hobbes arguing that we should no more suppose these writings to have been composed by Moses, because they are commonly called Books of Moses,

^{# 2} Esdras, xiv, 19-48.

⁺ Homily iii, chap. 47.

[‡] Namely, Clement of Alex., Strom. 22; Tertullian, De Cult. Foem., iii; Irenæus, Adv. Haer. iii, 21; Chrysostom, Hom. viii, in Ep. Heb.; Theodoret, Pref. in Psalmos; Basil, Ep. ad. Chilonem; Jerome, Adv. Helvid.

[§] Masius, Commentary on Joshua, at chap. xix, 47.

²⁷⁻FOURTH SERIES, VOL. XXXVI.

than we should believe the Books of Joshua, Ruth, and Samuel to have been written by the individuals whose names they bear, "for in titles of books the subject is marked as often as the writer." * Similar views were advanced by Isaac Pevrère, a French Protestant, who went over to Romanism, and also by Spinoza, who held that all the books from Genesis to Kings form one great historical work, composed of many documents of diverse authorship, not always in harmony with each other, but arranged and edited in their present form after the Babylonian exile, and probably by Ezra. In the year 1678, Richard Simon's Critical History of the Old Testament appeared, and gave a new turn to Pentateuchal criticism by calling attention to the varieties of composition and style apparent even in closely connected narratives, (as in the account of the flood, especially in Gen. vii, 17-24.) Simon's work was sharply criticised by Le Clerc, t who, however, put forth the singular theory that the Pentateuch, though containing documents both older and later than Moses, was probably compiled by the exiled priest whom the king of Assyria sent to instruct the Samaritan colonists. 2 Kings xvii, 27. These various criticisms made little impression at the time of their appearance, but they opened the way for the more thorough study of the Pentateuch, which began about the middle of the eighteenth century, and continnes with growing interest at the present hour. Modern criticism, so far as it has opposed the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, or attempted to explain its origin, exhibits a series of theories; and no intelligent discussion of the latest phases of Old Testament criticism is possible without some acquaintance with the history of these successive theories.

^{*} Leviathan, part iii, chap. 33. English Works, vol. iii, pp. 369. Ed. Moles-worth, Lond., 1839.

[†] This editor, he observes, "called the first five books after the name of Moses, because his life is the principal subject. For the same reason the sixth book is named Joshua, the seventh Judges," etc. Spinoza, Opera, vol. i, pp. 491. Ed. Van Vloten et Land. 1882.

[‡] In an anonymous publication, entitled "Sentimens de quelques theologiens de Holland sur l'Histoire Critique du V.T." Amsterdam, 1685. Le Clerc soon after abandoned this theory, and in his Commentary on Genesis, first issued in 1693, maintained that passages of manifestly later date than the age of Moses were additions by a later editor. About the same time, Van Dale, a friend of Le Clerc, in a work on the Origin and Progress of Idolatry, advanced the theory that Ezra compiled the Pentateuch from a book of Mosaic laws and various historical and prophetical writings.

THEORY OF DOCUMENTS.

Biblical scholars like Vitringa and Calmet, who believed in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, admitted that the great lawgiver made free use of ancient traditions, genealogies, and annals of the patriarchs, arranging, revising, and supplementing them to suit his purpose. But the first attempt to indicate the number and distinctive character of these documents was made by Jean Astruc, professor of medicine in the College of France, who published at Brussels and Paris, in 1753, a work entitled "Conjectures upon the Original Memoirs which Moses appears to have used in Composing the Book of Genesis." This writer detected a noticeable use of the divine names Elohim and Jehovah, by means of which different chapters and sections of Genesis were distinguishable, and he conjectured that Moses had for the most part made use of two original memoirs, each of which was still traceable by the occurrence of one or the other of these names. He also held that, besides these principal sources, some nine or ten other documents might still be traced by the notable absence of any divine name, or by the use of another name than Elohim or Jehovah, (for example, Gen. xix, 30-38, xxii, 20-24, xxv, 12-18.) Astruc supposed that these different documents were at first arranged by Moses in separate columns, but were afterward copied in one continuous narrative, by which process some of them came to be misplaced.

Astruc's views do not appear to have commanded much attention until about 1762, when J. F. W. Jerusalem gave them a favorable notice in his Letters on the Mosaic Writings, and soon afterward Eichhorn, profiting by the work of all his predecessors in this field of criticism, gave them great notoriety, and presented them in more complete and scholarly form, first in his Repertorium for Biblical and Oriental Literature, (1779,) and subsequently in the successive editions of his Introduction to the Old Testament, (1780–1823.) Eichhorn's brilliant essays in this department of biblical study opened the way for a host of similar attempts to ascertain the age and authorship of the constituent parts of the Pentateuch. John G. Hasse maintained that it was compiled at the time of the Babylonian exile, from writings which belonged in part to Moses, but

which had become greatly enlarged and altered by later hands.* F. C. Fulda also argued that portions of the Pentateuch are of Mosaic authorship, such as the decalogue, most of the songs contained in the last four books, and the list of encampments in Numbers xxxiii. He supposed that a collection of laws was made in the time of David, but that our Pentateuch in its present form was composed by some unknown redactor after the exile.† Similar views were put forward by H. Corrodi,‡ G. L. Bauer,§ and K. D. Ilgen. This last named writer attempted a more minute analysis of Genesis than that of Eichhorn, and maintained the theory of a second Elohist. Eichhorn himself modified some of his earlier views in the fourth edition of his Einleitung (1824.)

THEORY OF FRAGMENTS.

Near the close of the last and in the earlier part of the present century, several rationalistic critics endeavored to show that the Pentateuch was of a more fragmentary character than the current theory of documents allowed. Some of the advocates of that hypothesis, however, had given utterance to opinions which led very naturally to the conclusion that these books were but a loose compilation of heterogeneous fragments. This theory was formerly advanced by Alexander Geddes, a Roman Catholic divine, in his annotated new translation of the Bible, the first volume of which appeared in London in 1792. He held that the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua were compiled by the same author, and consisted of a great variety of composite elements, some coeval with Moses, some older and some later, and some of them probably oral traditions. He argued that it could not have been written before the time of David, nor after that of Hezekiah, and probably belonged to

^{*} Aussichten zu künftigen Aufklärungen über das A. T., Jena, 1785. This writer afterwards changed his opinion, and held that the five books were as a whole the work of Moses, but had received at various times numerous glosses and supplements until Ezra finally revised them and gave them their present form. Entdeckungen, Halle, 1805.

[†] Paulus's Neuen Repertorium für bib. und morgenl. Literatur, iii, p. 180. 1791. ‡ Versuch einer Beleuchtung der Geschichte des jüdischen und christlichen

Bibelkanons. Halle, 1792.

[§] Entwurf einer Einleitung in das A. T. 1794.

I Urkunde des jerusalemischen Tempelarchivs in ihrer Urgestalt. Halle, 1798.

the period of Solomon's long and peaceful reign. J. G. Nachtigal (under the name of Otmar) published a similar view in Henke's Magazin für Religionsphilosophie, Exegese und Kirchengeschichte, and at first (volume ii, 1794) maintained that much of the Pentateuch may have originated with Moses, and all of it may have been collected and arranged in its present form before the division of the kingdom; but the next year (vol. iv, 1795) he attributed to Moses little else than the decalogue, the list of encampments in the desert, a few genealogical tables, and a few songs. He aimed to show that, besides some documents of that kind, there were probably very few, if any, literary monuments among the Hebrews before the time of Samuel, but that in the schools of the prophets and among wise men numerous histories and songs were composed. These were afterward collected into books, and thus originated the so-called Books of Moses, which were brought to their present form about the time of the Babylonian exile, and perhaps under the supervision of Jeremiah. Substantially the same hypothesis was advocated in Vater's Commentary on the Pentateuch, (3 parts, Halle, 1802-5.) This writer argued, from the non-observance of many important Mosaic laws, that they could not have been in existence before the reign of David or Solomon. A. T. Hartmann subsequently repeated these arguments, and maintained that the art of writing was unknown among the Israelites until the age of the Judges, and was not used in the composition of books until Samuel's time.* Von Böhlen took the position that Deuteronomy is the oldest portion of the Pentateuch, and first appeared in the time of Josiah. The other books were subsequently added, but the entire work could not have been completed until after the exile.+ In substantial accord with Von Böhlen were the conclusions of W. Vatke, and J. F. L. George; § but these last two writers anticipated in some important points the theory of the gradual development of the religion of Israel, which has become so prominent in recent critical

^{*} Hist-krit. Forschungen über die Bildung, das Zeitalter und den Plan der fünf Bücher Moses. Rostock, 1831.

[†] Die Genesis hist.-krit. erläutert. Königsb., 1835.

[‡] Bibliche Theologie. Berlin, 1835.

[§] Die älteren jüdischen Feste, mit einer Kritik der Gesetzgebung des Pentateuchs. Berlin, 1835.

discussions. De Wette also for a long time held to the theory of fragments, but his work may be better treated in another connection.

THEORY OF SUPPLEMENTS.

The Fragment-Hypothesis soon became unsatisfactory to some of its ablest advocates. It was mainly held by extreme rationalists, who treated the Mosaic narratives as altogether mythical or legendary. But the unity of the Pentateuch was too apparent, and the evidences of plan and purpose running through the whole were too many for the most arbitrary critics to set aside. One of Ewald's earliest publications contributed largely to establishing the unity of the Book of Genesis.* The way for what is commonly known as the Hypothesis of Suppleplements was prepared by such writers as Bertholdt, Herbst, and Volney, men not readily classed with any special school, but who maintained that the Pentateuch was in great part the work of Moses, but much revised and supplemented by later hands. According to Bertholdt, the work was brought to its present form sometime between the beginning of Saul's and the end of Solomon's reign.+ According to Herbst, the final redaction was probably made, after Ezra's time, by the college of Elders.‡ Volney allowed less to Moses, and supposed that the Pentateuch in its present form was the product of the combined labors of Hilkiah, Shaphan, Achbor, (2 Kings xxii, 8-12,) and other scribes and prophets of the age of Josiah. §

De Wette made use of all the suggestions of his predecessors, and in his earlier publications on this subject adopted in the main the Hypothesis of Fragments. Many single fragments of the Pentateuch could not, in his opinion, have originated earlier than the times of David. The different narratives were written independently of one another, and afterward put together by different collectors. The compilation of Leviticus was probably by another hand, and certainly later than that of Exodus. Numbers was a supplement to the earlier collections,

^{*} Die Komposition der Genesis kritische untersucht. 1823.

⁺ Hist.-krit, Einleitung, Theil iii. 1813.

[‡] Observationes de Pent. 4 librorum posteriorum auctore et editore, 1817. In his Introduction, however, edited and published after his death, (1840-44,) the redaction is placed in the time of David.

[§] Recherches nouvelles sur l'Histoire Ancienne. 1814.

and Deuteronomy was composed in the time of Josiah.* He subsequently modified his views, and in the fifth and sixth editions of his Introduction to the Old Testament (1840, 1845) he maintained that the Pentateuch and Joshua bore evidences of a threefold redaction, showing traces, first, of the Elohist, second, of the Jehovist, and third, of the Deuteronomist. The earliest of these must have lived after the Israelites were ruled by kings, and the latest belonged to the time of Josiah. He also allowed that among the sources employed by the first redactor were many ancient and genuine monuments of the Mosaic age.

The views of Friedrich Bleek were, like those of De Wette, gradually developed. As early as 1822 he maintained + that there are many parts of the Pentateuch which cannot be later than the age of Moses, and nothing which requires us to believe that the last revision was made as late as the time of the Babylonian exile. His more mature views appear in his Lectures on Old Testament Introduction, t according to which the most ancient and original documents now contained in the Pentateuch and Joshua were worked up into one continuous narrative by a first writer, commonly called the Elohist. was the Grundschrift, or fundamental writing, and contained an account of the creation, the flood, and the lives of Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, and Joshua, and was probably composed in the time of Saul. It embraced documents older than the time of Moses, and a large portion of the laws which were enacted by Moses himself. The writer employed the name Elohim until he came to the narrative of Moses's life. after which the name of Jehovah appears. This fundamental history was made the basis of a larger work, namely, that of the Jehovist, who lived in the time of David, and supplemented the Elohistic writing with numerous additions. This Jehovist produced the first four books of the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua in substantially the form in which

^{*} Dissertatio qua Deut. a prioribus Pent. libris diversum alius cujusdam recentioris auctoris opus esse demonstratur. Jena, 1805. De Wette set forth essentially the same views in the first edition of his Beiträge zur Einleitung ins A. T. 1806-7.

[†] In Rosenmüller's Bib. exeget. Repertorium. Leipzig.

[‡] Edited and published after his death by J. Bleek and A. Kamphausen. Berlin, 1860. English translation by Venables, London, 1875.

we find them now, (excepting particularly Lev. xxvi, 3-45.) The final redaction was made by the author of Deuteronomy sometime during the reign of Manasseh.

This Theory of Supplements received the support of J. J. Stähelin,* who, however, would not allow that any part of our Pentateuch was composed by Moses. He held it to be a work of Samuel, or of one of his scholars, based upon an older history which extended from the creation of the world to the conquest of Canaan, and contained a large part of Genesis, nearly all the three middle books of the Pentateuch, and the geographical portions of the Book of Joshua. Friedrich Tuch also adopted this theory, but supposed the Elohist to have written in the time of Saul, and the Jehovist in the time of Solomon, + Ewald is noted for propounding an analysis of the Pentateuch and Joshua so minute as to detect therein the work of eight different writers, whose several parts, with the dates of composition, his critical instinct assumed to determine with remarkable nicety. He recognized a fundamental Elohistic document, which extended from the creation to the time of Solomon, and embraced three older writings, namely, the Book of Jehovah's Wars, a life of Moses, and the Book of the Covenants. This ancient history he named the Great Book of Origins, and attributed it to a contemporary of Solomon.‡ To this work subsequent writers made numerous additions, and the Hexateuch received its present form from the Deuteronomist, who wrote in Egypt during the latter part of Manasseh's reign. Cæsar Von Lengerke-also placed the composition of the

^{*} First in his Kritische Untersuchungen über die Genesis, (Basel, 1830,) then in the Studien und Kritiken for 1835, and more fully in his Kritische Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch, die Bücher Josua, Richter, Samuel's und der Könige. Berlin, 1843.

[†] Kommentar über die Genesis. Halle, 1838.

[‡] For this writer Ewald confesses the highest admiration: "Lofty spirit? Thou whose work has for centuries not irrationally had the fortune of being taken for that of thy great hero Moses himself, I know not thy name, and divine only from thy vestiges when thou didst live, and what thou didst achieve; but if these thy traces incontrovertibly forbid me to identify thee with him who was greater than thou, and whom thou thyself only desiredst to magnify according to his deserts, then see that there is no guile in me, nor any pleasure in knowing thee not absolutely as thou wert!" History of Israel, English translation, vol. i, p. 96.

[§] Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. i, first issued in 1843. English translation by Martineau, London, 1869.

Elohistic document in the time of Solomon, and supposed it to have been enlarged by the Jehovist in the time of Hezekiah. and further worked over and supplemented by the Deuteronomist, who brought it to its present form (excepting, perhaps, Deut. xxxiii) during the reign of Josiah. * Vaihinger makes the three different writers to be a Pre-Elohist, (of whose work only a few fragments remain.) the Elohist, and the Jehovist, + Hupfeld made out four writers, the Elohist, a second Elohist, a Jehovist, and a Redactor, who gave the entire work its final unity and finish. # Böhmer adopted Hupfeld's theory in the main, but attempted to ascertain more definitely the extent of the Redactor's work. & Riehm labored to show that Deuteronomy is a literary fiction, but in no way a dishonest or blameworthy performance; from the mention of ships in chap, xxviii, 68, he concluded that it was written in the time of Manasseh. Knobel produced one of the most minute and elaborate works on the Pentateuch extant, and distributed its several component parts among five different writers, namely, the authors of the fundamental document, (Grundschrift,) the Book of the Upright, (Rechtsbuch,) and the War-book, (Kriegsbuch,) the Jehovist, and the Deuteronomist. The first of these lived probably in the time of Saul, the last under Josiah. Nöldeke apportioned the work among at least four writers, the Elohist, the Jehovist, a Redactor, and the Deuteronomist, the first of whom was a priest living at Jerusalem in the time of David or Solomon, the last in the reign of Josiah. **

Other writers, less distinguished, contributed to the elaboration of this Theory of Supplements, each one producing some new discovery touching the relationship of the different parts of the Pentateuch. Among the more recent and thorough

^{*}Kenaan, Volks-und Religions-Geschichte Israels bis zum Tode des Josua. Königsb., 1844,

[†] Herzog's Real-Encyclopädie, art. Pentateuch. Stuttgardt, 1856.

[‡] Die Quellen der Genesis. Berlin, 1853.

[§] Liber Genesis Pentateuchicus. 1860. Davidson's views correspond substantially with those of Hupfeld and Böhmer. Introduction to the Old Testament, vol. i, 1862.

Gesetzgebung Mosis im Lande Moab. Gotha, 1854.

[¶] Kritik des Pent, und Josua, at the end of his commentary on these books in the Kurzgefasstes exegetiches Handbuch zum A. T. Leipzig, 1861.

^{**} Untersuchungen zur Kritik des A. T. Kiel, 1869

discussions of this hypothesis is that of Schrader, as given in the eighth edition of De Wette's Einleitung, (Berlin, 1869.) He supposes four successive writers, and points out their characteristic differences of language, style, and religious conceptions. The first he calls the Annalist, who belonged to the earlier part of David's reign; the second wrote soon after the division of the kingdom, and is named the Theocratic Narrator. These two writers composed separate and independent works, which were combined a generation later and supplemented by a third writer, who is called the Prophetic Narrator. The final redactor of the Pentateuch was the Deuteronomist, who composed his book and revised the whole before the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign.

Delitzsch and Kurtz, while holding to the Mosaic origin of the main parts of the Pentateuch, adopt the essential elements of the supplementary hypothesis. In the Introduction of his Commentary on Genesis Delitzsch makes Exod. xix-xxiv the kernel of the Pentateuch, and supposes it to have been written by Moses. The other laws were given orally by Moses and written down by the priests. Deuteronomy must be accepted as in substance the work of Moses. After the conquest and occupation of Canaan, some man like Eleazar (Num. xxvi, 1; xxxi, 21) compiled the main (Elohistic) work, incorporating in it the roll of the covenant, and, perhaps, the last words of Moses. This was supplemented by Joshua (Deut. xxxii, 44; Josh. xxiv, 26) or one of the elders, (Num. xi, 25,) who added Deuteronomy in its present form, and the Jehovistic sections. *

* Commentar über die Genesis, p. 31. Leipzig, 1872. Much has been said of the recent change in Delitzsch's views, which appear in a series of twelve articles in Luthardt's Zeitschrift fur kirchliche Wissenschaft for 1880. He now admits the use of parallel documents running through much of the Pentateuch, the priority of the Jehovistic portions, and that Deuteronomy comes between the two. Excepting the priority of the Jehovist these latter views are not materially different from those advanced in his Commentary on Genesis. He still maintains the Mosaic origin of much of the Pentateuch, but concedes that many of the laws originated with the needs of the people at a later day, and maintains that the legislation begun by Moses was doubtless continued by the priests, to which such matters were intrusted after Moses's death. He believes that Deuteronomy is in substance Mosaic, but in form has been modified by the subjectivity and style of the writer, (the Deuteronomiker,) who nevertheless was in fullest spiritual accord with Moses, and has reproduced his last traditional discourses in an authentic form. He rejects the main positions of the theories of the school of Wellhausen, and strenuously opposes the notion that Deuteronomy originated at

According to Kurtz, the Pentateuch is of Mosaic origin in that it was, in the main, prepared under Moses's direct supervision, and completed by his assistants and contemporaries. Probably Moses himself composed with his own hand only those portions which are expressly attributed to him. In the historical parts he admits two distinct sources, a fundamental and a supplementary writing. The last revision of the entire work as we possess it was probably made near the close of Joshua's life, or, perhaps, soon after his death.*

THEORY OF ETHNIC DEVELOPMENT.

We thus designate the latest phase of Old Testament criticism, which is particularly noted for the stress it lays upon the national religious development of the Israelitish people, and the dates and order of what it affirms to be distinct and successive legal codes. We have noticed above that Von Böhlen, Vatke, and George, as early as 1835, maintained that Deuteronomy is the oldest book of the Pentateuch. But the monograph of K. H. Graf on the Historical Books of the Old Testament (Leipzig, 1866) marked an epoch in the criticism of the Pentateuch. This writer was a pupil of Prof. Edward Reuss, who had long previously argued for the priority of Deuteronomy, but whose more fully developed views were published at a later date. Graf's theory supposes an ancient Elohistic work which has been subjected to three great revisions and enlargements. The first was done by the Jehovist in the time of the earlier kings, and contained the legislation recorded in Exod. xiii, xx-xxiii, and xxxiv. The second was made by the Deuteronomist, who was the author of the book found by Hilkiah. 2 Kings xxii, 8. This book is supposed to have been that portion of our Deuteronomy which extends from chap. iv, 45, to chap. xxix, 1, excepting chap. xxvii. Its author made free use of the older work of the Jehovist, and afterward combined that work with his own and added Deut. i-iv, 44, as a new preface. The third revision was made during and after the Babylonian exile, and is notable for having added, in the body of the work,

the time of Josiah. He admits that Ezra may have participated in the codification of the Mosaic laws, but he stoutly controverts the idea that the Levitical legislation was a post-exilian fiction.

^{*} History of the Old Covenant, English translation, vol. iii, p. 502 ff.

the Levitical legislation, which now appears in Exod. xii, xxv-xxxi, xxxv-xl, most of Leviticus, and the greater part of Numbers. These Levitical laws are held to exhibit numerous evidences of a later origin and a more elaborate ritual than those of Deuteronomy.*

This theory of the origin of the law-books of Israel was taken up and presented in a still more radical form by A. Kuenen, first in his Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin of the Books of the Old Testament, (Leyden, 1861-65,) and later in his Religion of Israel, (1869-70,) his Five Books of Moses, (1872,) and his Prophets and Prophecy in Israel, (1875.) According to Kuenen, the religion of Israel is nothing more nor less than one of the principal religions of the world, and must be explained in its genesis and development like all other religions. The Israelites in Egypt were probably polytheists; by and by they came to consider their national deity as distinct from other gods, and called him El Shaddai; afterward they were taught by Moses, who gave them the decalogue, to call this god Jehovah. The stories of the patriarchs are ancient myths, and have been wrought over by various writers. The first written documents of note are those of the prophets of the eighth century before Christ, such as Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, and the historical books of the Kings. Under the ministry of the prophets the worship of Jehovah became purer, and during the reign of Hezekiah the Book of Deuteronomy was written and made to serve the purpose described in 2 Kings xxii and xxiii. A programme of national worship was outlined by Ezekiel, and became the basis of the subsequent Levitical legislation, which first came into use after the return from exile, and was formulated by Ezra. This distinguished scribe compiled the voluminous Book of the Law in the shape in which we now possess it.

This theory, strange as it may seem, has captivated many modern critics, and is maintained in substance by Kalisch in

^{*} Die geschichtliche Bucher des A. T. Leipzig, 1866. Graf subsequently so far modified his theory as to make the work of the Jehovist the original kernel of the Pentateuch, and to place the Elohist after the Levitical legislation, about B. C. 450. Grundschrift des Pentateuchs, in Merx's Archiv., 1869.

[†] This work on the Prophets has been translated into English by Milroy, (London, 1877,) and that on the Religion of Israel by May. 3 volumes. London, 1874.

his Commentary on Leviticus,* by Aug. Kayser,† by Bishop Colenso, and by Smend in his recent Commentary on Ezekiel. § But among all its advocates the most famous at the present time are probably Profs. Wellhausen and Reuss in Germany, and W. Robertson Smith in Scotland. According to Wellhausen, the Pentateuch is composed of three separate and independent works, which were wrought over, and, with additions from other sources, fashioned into one connected whole by Ezra or one of his contemporaries. The oldest document is the work of the Jehovist, compiled from previously existing Jehovistic and Elohistic records, and therefore by this critic designated by the letters J. E. This ancient composition was mainly historical, but contained the laws of Exod. xx-xxv. The second in order of the great documents was Deuteronomy, composed in the reign of Josiah, (designated D.) The third, called the Priest-Codex, (P. C.,) contained the laws of Exod. xxvi-xl, Leviticus, and Numbers i-x, and was accompanied by a historical introduction reflecting the spirit and opinions of the time of the exile when it was produced. This Priest-Codex is also called the Book of the Four Covenants, (designated Q., from the Latin Quatuor.) After the exile Ezra or one of his generation constructed our present Pentateuch by a free use of all these documents, and also of other materials at his command.

Edward Reuss, of Strasburg, claims to have advanced this theory as early as the year 1834, and says that in many respects it was with him "a product of intuition." ¶ After slowly elaborating it in his university lectures for nearly half a century,

^{*}Issued in two parts. London, 1867, 1872.

[†]In his Vorexilische Buch der Urgeschichte Israels und seine Erweiterungen. Strasburg, 1874.

[‡] The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined. Seven parts. London, 1862-79. This series of publications from a Bishop of the Established Church, especially the first few parts, greatly stirred up the English theological world, and called out a library of replies.

[§] Der Prophet Ezechiel. Leipzig, 1880.

[|] Wellhausen's views appear in his essay on the Composition of the Hexateuch in the Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie, (1876-77;) in his edition of Bleek's Einleitung in das A. T., (Berlin, 1878.) and in his Geschichte Israels, Erster Band. Berlin, 1878. New edition, entitled Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels. 1883.

[¶] Die Geschichte der heiligen Schriften A. T., p. vii. Braunschweig, 1881.

he has recently published his matured critical analysis and arrangement of the whole body of Old Testament literature in a large octavo, entitled "The History of the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament." He traces the composition of the Pentateuch through four distinct stages, the oldest portion of which was first compiled in the time of Jehoshaphat. This was subsequently revised and supplemented with important additions by the Jehovist. The third great contribution was made by the Deuteronomist in the time of Josiah, and the fourth, containing the Levitical legislation, was incorporated with the whole after the exile. W. R. Smith's position is not materially different from that of the school of Reuss, though he presents his views with greater moderation and caution. He distinguishes three separate groups of laws, which he calls the First Legislation, (Exod. xxi-xxiii,) the Deuteronomic Code, (especially Deut. xii-xxvi,) and the Levitical Legislation, which is scattered through Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. The exact date of Deuteronomy is not determined, but "the book became the programme of Josiah's reformation, because it gathered up in practical form the results of the great movement under Hezekiah and Isaiah, and the new divine teaching then given to Israel."* The distinctive features of the Levitical legislation were first sketched by Ezekiel, afterward developed in numerous details, incorporated with many ancient laws and traditions, and adapted "to the circumstances of the second temple, when Jerusalem was no longer a free State, but only the center of a religious community possessing certain municipal privileges of self-government." So far as these laws or writings are ascribed to Moses, they are to be understood merely as a legitimate continuation of a cultus which began with Moses. They were by conventional usage, or legal fiction, called ordinances of Moses, but every one would understand that they were not of Mosaic authorship.

The adverse criticism of the Pentateuch has called out numerous replies from scholars who have steadfastly defended the traditional belief. Among the most eminent of these we may name, of the older writers, Carpzov, Witsius, Vitringa, and Calmet; and, in later times, Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Keil,

^{*} The Old Testament in the Jewish Church, p. 363. Edinburgh, 1881.

⁺ Ibid, p. 382.

M'Donald, and Green. Not a few of the ablest and most satisfactory answers to the several theories above detailed are to be found in the higher periodicals of Germany, England, and America. These vary in their methods of defense, some admitting numerous documents and interpolations, while others are slow to concede that any thing save the account of Moses's death is inconsistent with Mosaic authorship.

RESULTS OF CRITICISM.

What now, we may ask, are the results of all this critical study of the Pentateuch? It will be conceded, by every one competent to judge, that the researches and discussions of the Higher Criticism have developed a more thorough and scientific study of the Old Testament. Philological, archæological, and historical questions connected with Hebrew literature have been investigated with rich results to the cause of sacred learning. As to the origin and authorship of the Pentateuch, we regard the following propositions as fairly settled:

1. The Pentateuch contains a number of passages which cannot, without doing violence to sound critical principles, be

attributed to Moses as their author.

2. The Pentateuch, especially the Book of Genesis, contains documents of various dates and authorship, which have been worked over into an orderly and homogeneous whole.

3. The laws of the Pentateuch were either unknown or else very largely neglected and violated during most of the period between the conquest of Canaan and the Babylonian captivity.

4. The Books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers show different stages of legislation, and Leviticus contains a noticeably fuller and more elaborate priestly code and ritual than appear

in Deuteronomy.

We are frank to say that we regard the above propositions as simple statements of fact. But the divergent and conflicting opinions detailed in the foregoing pages admonish us that many unsound and illogical conclusions may be drawn from well-established facts. It is one thing to recognize positive results of criticism; quite another to accept theories which the critics build, or assume to build, upon such results. The discussion of the four propositions stated above must be reserved for another article.

ART. II.—THE OPIUM TRAFFIC IN CHINA.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

The previous article on this subject having treated of the history of the traffic, it is proposed in the present article to consider its results, to show what has been and is the Chinese opinion in regard to it, to discuss the relation of the United States to the trade, to trace the efforts that have been made for its suppression, and to indicate what ought to be done to accomplish that result.

II. THE RESULTS OF THE TRAFFIC.

If the opium trade were in itself devoid of all evil qualities, there would still be no justification for the methods by which it has been imposed upon the Chinese nation; but its iniquity appears in still more hideous proportions when we survey its results.

1. The results to the victims of the traffic.—Occasionally some one has been found with hardihood enough to deny that any evil result comes from opium-smoking in general, and even to affirm that it is rather a harmless indulgence. Probably the most notable instance of this sort is to be found in a letter addressed by Messrs. Jardine, Matheson, & Co., of Hong-Kong, to the governor of that colony in 1867. The British Treaty with China was about to be revised, and this mercantile firm, well known as the most extensive dealers in opium of all the merchants in China, solicited the governor to bring their views in regard to the revision before the British government. In this letter they say:

Since 1860 it has been rendered abundantly clear that the use of opium is not a curse, but a comfort and a benefit, to the hardworking Chinese. As well say that malt is a curse to the English laborer, or tobacco one to the world at large! Misuse is one thing; use, another. If to a few the opium pipe has proved a fatal snare, to many scores of thousands, on the other hand, has it been productive of healthful sustentation and enjoyment. Were we not well assured that these statements are true, we should not press this matter as we are now doing; but after the evidence of the past we feel justified in claiming that those who deal in opium shall be permitted to supply the inland Chinese with the drug as freely as are the dwellers at the ports.

It is not difficult to detect in this extract the special pleading of an interested party, or to trace the similarity of its arguments to those of the liquor-seller; but it seems passing strange that a firm of reputable merchants would dare put forth such a statement where it must necessarily be scrutinized by intelligent people. Once in a while a physician, whose handsome support was derived from opium-dealing firms, has uttered like opinions; and from time to time such views have been expressed by defenders of the traffic in the halls of Parliament. But the unvarying and overwhelming testimony of Chinese statesmen and people, of British officials, of travelers, of medical men, and of missionaries, shows, beyond all question, the terrible effect of the death-dealing drug.

Prince Kung and his colleagues, in a dispatch to the British

Minister in 1869, say:

That opium is like a deadly poison, that it is most injurious to mankind, and a most serious provocative of ill feeling, is, the writers think, perfectly well known to his Excellency, and it is therefore needless for them to enlarge further on these points.

The K'euen Keae Shay, a Chinese society for the promotion of abstinence from opium, embracing many mandarins and gentlemen of high rank in Canton and its vicinity, in reply to an address of the Anglo-Oriental Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, in 1876, say of the effects of opium-smoking that,

It squanders wealth.
 It interrupts industry.
 It destroys life.
 It cramps talent.
 It disorganizes government.
 It enfeebles the defenders of the country.
 It loosens the bonds of society.
 It carrupts the morals of the people.

In an address issued by the same society to their countrymen, they say:

Opium-smoking ruins family estates, destroys bodies and souls of men more than can be reckoned; and in recent times there is nothing which can compare with this in injuring the people. Yellow gold is given in exchange for this black dirt; fertile fields are planted with this poisonous thing. Every day, every month, its votaries increase. Those who were well off are reduced to rags; their fine houses and rich lands all quickly transmuted into a cloud of smoke. How terrible it is!

Sir Thomas Wade, the British Minister, in a dispatch to his own government, says:

It is to me vain to think otherwise of the use of the drug in China than as of a habit many times more pernicious, nationally 28—FOURTH SERIES, VOL. XXXVI.

speaking, than the gin and whisky drinking which we deplore at home. It takes possession more insidiously, and keeps its hold to the full as tenaciously. I know no case of radical cure. It has insured in every case within my knowledge the steady descent, moral and physical, of the smoker, and is so far a greater mischief than drink, that it does not, by external evidence of its effects, expose its victim to the loss of repute, which is the penalty of habitual drunkenness.

Mr. C. V. Aitchison, the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, says:

The habitual use of the drug saps the physical and mental energies, destroys the nerves, emaciates the body, predisposes to disease, induces indolent and filthy habits of life, destroys self-respect; is one of the most fertile sources of misery, destitution, and crime; fills the jails with men of relaxed frames, predisposed to dysentery and cholera; prevents the due extension of cultivation and the development of the land revenue; checks the natural growth of the population, and enfeebles the constitution of succeeding generations.

These are certainly strong testimonies from the highest Chinese and British sources. Let us now call to the stand physicians of eminent repute who have personally witnessed the effects of opium-smoking in China. J. L. Maxwell, M.D., for many years engaged in hospital work at Amoy and on the island of Formosa, says:

When the daily habit is entered upon, a few weeks are sufficient to make the effort to throw off the chain so severe a tax, alike on the physical and moral strength of a man, that without help he rarely comes off the victor. It is this insidious and quiet and comparatively speedy way in which it takes firm hold of its victim that renders opium-smoking so much more dangerous a vice in many respects than spirit-drinking.

William Gauld, M.D., for eighteen years in hospital work at Swatow, says:

The opium-smoker has a peculiar sallow skin, and usually blue, congested lips. This arises from the effect of opium. It acts upon every nerve-cell, and probably every nerve-fiber. At first the effect of it is slightly stimulant, but afterward it is depressing and deadening, and the more a man smokes opium the more his whole system gets deadened. That is to say, his functions are not in a normally active state. This is manifested in a very simple way. For instance, the bowels of the opium-smoker do not act perhaps oftener than once in ten days, or once in fifteen days, and sometimes once a month. I have known such cases. It is the same with respiration. The blood gradually becomes

less and less oxidized, and the venous system becomes congested. Hence you have that blue state of the lips and the shortness of breath of a confirmed opium-smoker.

D. B. M'Cartee, M.D., after twenty-five years' experience in his profession at Ningpo, wrote as follows:

As to the effects of opium upon the smokers, 1. Physically: it enervates them, gradually undermines their constitutions, and very frequently, either from their inability to procure the drug, or from its losing its effect upon them, or (as in several instances that have come under my observation) owing to a resolute endeavor to break off the habit, an incurable "opium diarrhea" sets in, and carries off the victim in a short time. 2. Morally: it not only undermines the physical constitution, it also blunts the moral sense, and in aggravated or even confirmed cases there is no depth of meanness or depravity to which the poor wretches will not stoop to stop the insupportable craving for the drug.

He mentions two cases which had come under his own personal observation of young men whose habit of opium-smoking had led them into such scandalous conduct that their own parents, with the approval of the head men of their clan, caused them to be sewn up in mats, thrown into the river, and drowned!

Much more medical testimony might be adduced if our space would allow. Let us listen to the evidence of a few travelers. The Abbé Huc, the celebrated Roman Catholic traveler, says:

With the exception of some rare smokers, all others advance rapidly toward death, after having passed through successive stages of idleness, debauchery, poverty, the ruin of their physical strength, and the complete prostration of their intellectual and moral faculties. Nothing can stop a smoker who has made much progress in the habit.

M. Carné, after his return from his travels in China, wrote in the Revue des Deux Mondes:

I do not believe there has ever been a more terrible scourge in the world than opium. The alcohol employed by Europeans to destroy savages, the plague that ravages a country, cannot be compared to opium.

Mr. T. T. Cooper, the celebrated English traveler, says:

It is a very common thing to see half-naked men lying dead, simply from want of opium. It leads to crime in every way. Men will sell their children, their wives, their mothers, their fathers, to get opium.

Mr. R. N. Fowler, M. P., in giving an account of his visit to China, says:

Mr. Nye, a merchant of long experience, said that of the ten great Hong merchants who carried on the trade when he came to Canton forty-two years ago, the families of nine had been ruined by opium-smoking. A town was mentioned which is becoming depopulated by it. Literary men smoke a great deal, and young men often take to it and are ruined. . . . Dr. Eitel took me to an opium-boiling establishment. There were eighteen men at work preparing it to be put in boxes and sent to California. Dr. Dudgeon had shortly before visited this place and questioned the proprietor, who said he considered opium a great evil, and did not allow any of his men to smoke it, but he carried on the business for the sake of profit. One cannot wonder at this reasoning in a heathen. This and other houses are in connection with a man who farms the right to boil opium, and pays \$120,000 a year for three years to our government for it. Dr. Eitel considers that it is destroying the population, as opium-smokers have no children.

Missionaries of all nationalities, and of all denominations, are unanimous in their testimony as to the evil effects of the drug. It is only possible to give the words of a few representative men.

The Rev. Walter Medhurst, D. D., for forty years a faithful missionary of the London Missionary Society, says:

Calculating the shortened lives, the frequent diseases, and the actual starvation which are the result of opium-smoking in China, we may venture to assert that this pernicious drug annually destroys myriads of individuals. . . . Slavery was not more productive of misery and death than is the opium traffic, nor were Britons more implicated in the former than in the latter.

Mr. Alexander Wylie, who was for seventeen years superintendent of the London Missionary Society's press at Shanghai, and afterward for fifteen years traveled extensively through the empire as agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, says:

Any one who has lived half of that time [that is, half of twenty years] among the Chinese, can scarcely have a doubt as to the destructive effects of opium, physically, mentally, and morally. Undoubtedly this is one of the greatest evils with which China is affected, and, unless some means be found to check the practice, it bids fair to accomplish the utter destruction, morally and physically, of that great empire.

The Rev. Griffith John, for nearly thirty years a missionary of the London Missionary Society at Shanghai and Hankow, says:

Opium is not only robbing the Chinese of millions of money year by year, but is actually destroying them as a people. It undermines the constitution, ruins the health, and shortens the life of the smoker, destroys every domestic happiness and prosperity, and is gradually effecting the physical, mental, and moral deterioration of the nation as a nation. The Chinese tell us that a large proportion of the regular opium-smokers are childless, and that the children of the others are few, feeble, and sickly. They also affirm that the family of the opium-smoker will be extinct in the third generation.

The Rev. F. W. Baller, of the China Inland Mission, who was very active in the relief of the sufferers in the great famine of 1876, says:

I was in the province of Shan-si, and the native testimony is that those who first suffered, and on whom the famine had the greatest effect, were opium-smokers. They were carried off first. . . I believe that in these famine-smitten districts . . . millions of men were carried off simply from the fact that their whole constitution was undermined by the practice of opium-smoking.

The Rev. Dr. Legge, Professor of the Chinese Language and Literature at Oxford University, says:

It is as certain as any thing can be that the opium traffic, unless it be arrested, will reduce the empire of China to beggary and ruin.

Similar testimonies might be added by the hundred. The great Missionary Conference at Shanghai in 1877 gave voice to the unanimous conviction of the missionaries of China in its resolution "that opium-smoking is a vice highly injurious, physically, morally, and socially."

2. The results on missionary work.—Turning now from the effect of the opium traffic upon those who use the drug, to consider its effect upon the missionary work, we shall find it to be one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of Christianity

among the Chinese people.

When Bishop Schereschewsky, of the American Protestant Episcopal Church, visited the ancient city of Kai-feng-fu in the province of Honan, in 1869, a crowd gathered about him, and quickly expelled him from the city, shouting after him, "You burned our palace, you killed our Emperor, you sell poison to the people, and now you come to teach us virtue!"

The Bishop of Victoria testifies that again and again, while preaching, he has been stopped with the question, "Are you an Englishman? Is not that the country the opium comes from? Go back and stop it, and then we will talk about Christianity."

The native Christians of Canton, in their address to the Anti-Opium Society, speak in emphatic terms of the opium traffic as a hinderance to the propagation of the truth. They testify that they constantly hear the heathen Chinese saying:

The foreigners who preach the doctrine of Jesus affirm that he taught men to love others as themselves, and always to bear in mind the Golden Rule; but every year they import opium into China, and injure thereby millions of their fellow-creatures. Lately the quantity imported has increased, and the injury it produces has increased in proportion; as if they meant to carry off all the wealth of China, and to drain away the life-blood of the people before they stop. When men only think of what profits themselves, and are regardless of the injury done to others to such an extent as this, how can they be said to love others as themselves? How can we believe their doctrine and follow their religion?

The heathen Anti-Opium Society of Canton says to the Anti-Opium Society of England:

Since the removal of the restrictions from the opium trade, the profits accruing therefrom have been shared only by a few of your countrymen resident in China, while the rest, who have been pursuing other lawful callings, are, by the Chinese, mixed up with them, and all are tarred with the same brush. . . . Your countrymen come here to preach the Gospel, and their object is to make converts, and thus spread abroad the love of God to men. But their hearers continually ask, "Why don't you go home and exhort your own people not to sell opium, since you are so bent on exhortation?" And it is impossible for the missionaries entirely to stop their mouths. On this account not only are few converts made, but the whole Christian doctrine is suspected to be an imposition. Thus the zeal of your missionaries is wasted.

The same society in another document says:

Suppose the case reversed, and that some other nation had a poisonous article which was injurious to great Britain. We know well Great Britain would not suffer it to be brought to her own detriment. And if you would object to its being brought, you ought equally object to its being sent to hurt others. The New Testament says again, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." Is it possible that the instruction of the Saviour has never yet reached the ear of your honored country?

There can be no question that there is a very deep and genuine feeling among the Chinese people that this awful traffic is a great wrong, utterly indefensible on any moral ground. The above extracts indicate how this feeling constantly rises up in objection to a religion which is brought to them by the same people who bring the opium. It is not easy for them to make the distinction between nominal and real Christians, and when missionaries endeavor to teach such distinction, in answer to the objections to Christianity growing out of this traffic, the ever-recurring reply is, "Why don't you get your own people to be real Christians, then?" So every-where this traffic and its results become an obstacle of the most formidable character. It is doubtful whether the idolatrous habits and customs of centuries are as much in the way of the triumph of Christianity to-day as is this accursed traffic. It is an omnipresent and awful reality, affecting all classes of society. Its direful work has become familiar to the people before the Gospel messenger appears, and it shuts their hearts against his message. The calm judgment of the men best fitted to formulate an opinion was expressed by the General Conference at Shanghai when it said of the opium trade, "that, both from its past history and its present enormous extent, producing suspicion and dislike in the minds of the Chinese, it is a most formidable obstacle to the cause of Christianity."

3. Its results to India.—Looking at the amount of revenue derived from the trade by the government of India, it may be called a very profitable traffic. In the parliamentary discussion of 1840, Lord Ellenborough advocated the continuance of the growth of opium in India, because of the great revenue derived from it, amounting then to \$7,500,000, which, as he said, was "in effect a tax on foreigners." This has since grown into an average annual revenue of \$35,000,000. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that poppy cultivation has wasted the soil of India to a very serious degree. Twenty-five years ago the East India Company affirmed in a statistical paper that "the poppy requires the richest description of land." Its extended production must therefore displace other products. Some of the finest grain-growing lands of Benares, Behar, and other regions are covered with the blighting poppy. A careful estimate, published in the London "Times" of Dec. 9,

1873, showed 100,000 acres of the rich plains of Central India and 550,000 acres in the alluvial valley of the Ganges given up to the poppy—ground which had previously produced sugar, indigo, corn, and other grain. India has been subject at times to great famines, which have carried off thousands of the people, and brought disease and distress upon multitudes. The rich province of Behar has suffered greatly from this cause; and while her people were dying by the thousand from starvation, many thousands of acres of her rich soil were blooming with the deadly poppy. The natives of India were starving that the natives of China might be poisoned through the agency of the Indian government, and for the purpose of increasing the dollars in its coffers. It would be difficult to conceive of any thing more shameful and wicked than such a condition of things as these facts reveal. The traffic which curses China is cursing India as well by the great and increasing waste of its most valuable soil. Besides this, it has proved a positive hinderance to public improvements, which there is high authority for saying "would have been more earnestly attended to but for the easy way of getting revenue by the growth and sale of opium."

4. Its effect upon general trade.—As long ago as 1839, Captain Eliot, her Majesty's Superintendent of Trade, wrote to Lord Palmerston:

After the most deliberate reconsideration of this course of traffic, I declare my own opinion that, in its general effects, it is intensely mischievous to every branch of trade.

In 1842 a memorial was presented to Sir Robert Peel, bearing the signatures of 235 merchants and manufacturers of the highest standing, setting forth the obstacles interposed by the opium trade to an increased demand for British goods. They give it as their opinion that "the opium trade, in whatever form, will inevitably undermine the commerce of Great Britain with China." They show that from 1803 to 1839, while the opium trade had grown from 3,000 to 30,000 chests, the products of British industry purchased by the Chinese were \$750,000 less in amount than was paid for woolens alone in 1803–8. The Chinese have no antipathy to foreign manufactures. The great difficulty is that opium preoccupies the market. An annual drain of thirty-six millions of dollars for opium must, in the

nature of things, interfere materially with the ability of the Chinese to purchase manufactured goods. The Tau-tai of Shanghai was once asked what would be the best means of increasing British commerce with China. He immediately replied: "Cease to send us so much opium, and we shall be able to take your manufactures." Mr. David M'Laren gives figures to show that China, with her four hundred millions of people, only imports about as much of British manufactures as Egypt or Cuba, and that opium, which formed scarcely one half of the export trade of Great Britain to China in 1813, had grown to be ninety per cent. of the whole in 1858. He then adds:

It is impossible to resist the conclusion to be drawn from these tables. If the Chinese take value for their exports in one form, they cannot at the same time take it in another; and further, as will be seen shortly, the more they take in opium, the more they diminish their productive power and subsequent ability to become profitable customers in any trade.

The Rev. Goodeve Mabbs, with abundant statistics to indorse his assertion, says:

Depend upon it, there is no greater barrier, both politically and economically, to the extension of British trade with China than our British Indian opium trade. The seven or eight millions of revenue which India obtains from the traffic really come out of the till of the British manufacturer and from the resources of the British people.

The London bankers, in a letter to the Chambers of Commerce, say:

English industry is practically shut out from the market which, of all others, seems to offer the greatest possibilities of increase and expansion; and this, not from any unwillingness on the part of the government or people of China to receive our manufactures, but through the calamitous operation of a monopoly which exists for the sake of bringing in revenue to the Indian exchequer. The purchasing power of China seems paralyzed by the opium trade, while the Indian budget rests upon a basis which must give way the moment China is strong enough to assert herself.

Of course, America has as much interest in this aspect of the question as England. China ought to be one of the best fields in the world for many of our manufactures. But this opium blight is upon every thing. It has nearly paralyzed all honest trade. The United States Consul at Ningpo, who has resided in China for thirty years, says in one of his annual reports to our government:

Poverty makes bad customers; and so, whatever vices or circumstances tend to place our customers in this condition (as is pre-eminently the case with opium) injure our business.

Our legitimate commerce suffers immeasurable damage from this trade in opium, and no class would profit more by the total abolition of the traffic than our own merchants. Relieved of this incubus, trade would soon find its way to legitimate channels. The first development would probably be in largely increased sales of our cotton manufactures, and this would soon be followed by large imports of other useful articles. But up to this time opium, by exhausting to so large an extent the purchasing power of China, has been a powerful obstacle to the expansion of healthful trade.

III. CHINESE OPINION.

This branch of the subject has been necessarily anticipated to some extent; but it is desirable to show how steady and uniform has been the condemnation of the traffic by all classes of the Chinese people. The great Emperor Tau-kwang declared that

The injury done by the influx of opium and by the increase of those who inhale it is nearly equal to a conflagration, and the waste of property and the hurt done to human beings is every day greater than the preceding.

One of the most remarkable expressions of Chinese opinion is the letter of the Commissioner Lin, who destroyed the opium in Canton harbor, to Queen Victoria. A few extracts will give an idea of its style and of its reasoning:

But there is a tribe of depraved and barbarous people who, having manufactured opium for smoking, bring it hither for sale, and seduce and lead astray the simple folk, to the destruction of their persons and the draining of their resources. Formerly the smokers thereof were few, but of late from each to other the practice has spread its contagion, and daily do its baneful effects more deeply pervade the central source, its rich, fruitful, and flourishing population. . . . How can it be borne that the living souls that dwell within these seas should be left willfully to take a deadly poison! Hence it is that those who deal in opium, or

who inhale its fumes within this land, are all now to be subjected to severest punishment, and that a perpetual interdict is to be placed on the practice so extensively prevailing. We have reflected that this poisonous article is the clandestine manufacture of artful schemers and depraved people of various tribes under the dominion of your honorable nation. Doubtless you, the honorable Sovereign of that nation, have not commanded the manufacture and sale of it. . . . Though not making use of it one's self, to venture, nevertheless, on the manufacture and sale of it, and with it to seduce the simple folk of this land, is to seek ones' own livelihood by the exposure of others to death, to seek one's own advantage by other men's injury. And such acts are bitterly abhorrent to the nature of man, are utterly opposed to the ways of heaven. . . . We would now, then, concert with your honorable sovereignty means to bring to a perpetual end this opium, so hurtful to mankind: we in this land forbidding the use of it, and you in the nations under your dominion forbidding its manufacture. As regards what has been already made, we would have your honorable nation issue mandates for the collection thereof, that the whole may be cast into the depths of the sea. We would thus prevent the longer existence between these heavens and this earth of any portion of the hurtful thing.

If we turn from this expression of Commissioner Lin in 1839 to the letter of Prince Kung and his colleagues of the Tsung-li Yamen to Sir Rutherford Alcock in 1869, we will find that no change had taken place in thirty years in the opinion and feeling of the highest Chinese officials. They say:

The object of the treaties between our respective countries was to secure perpetual peace, but if effectual steps cannot be taken to remove an accumulating sense of injury from the minds of men, it is to be feared that no policy can obviate sources of future trouble. Day and night the writers are considering the question, with a view to its solution, and the more they reflect upon it the greater does their anxiety become, and, therefore, they cannot avoid addressing his Excellency very earnestly on the subject. That opium is like a deadly poison, that it is most injurious to mankind, and a most serious provocative of ill feeling, is, the writers think, perfectly well known to his Excellency. . . . If it be desired to remove the very root, and to stop the evil at its source, nothing will be effective but a prohibition, to be enforced alike by both parties. Again, the Chinese merchant supplies your country with his goodly tea and silk, conferring thereby a benefit upon her; but the English merchant empoisons China with pestilent opium. Such conduct is unrighteous. Who can justify it? What wonder if officials and people say that England is willfully working out China's ruin, and has no real

friendly feeling for her?... If his Excellency, the British Minister, cannot, before it is too late, arrange a plan for a joint prohibition, [of the traffic,] then, no matter with what devotedness the writers may plead, they may be unable to cause the people to put aside ill feeling, and so strengthen friendly relations as to place them forever beyond fear of disturbance. Day and night, therefore, the writers give to this matter most earnest thought, and overpowering is the distress which it occasions them.

Wen-seang, in a conversation with Sir Rutherford Alcock, reported by the latter in an official dispatch to the Earl of Clarendon, says:

How irreparable and continuous is the injury which we see inflicted upon the whole empire by the foreign importation of opium! If England would consent to interdict this—cease either to grow it in India, or to allow their ships to bring it to China—there might be some hope of more friendly feelings. No doubt there is a strong feeling entertained by all the *literati* and gentry as to the frightful evils attending the smoking of opium, its thoroughly demoralizing effects, and the utter ruin brought upon all who once give way to the vice. They believe the extension of this pernicious habit is mainly due to the alacrity with which foreigners supply the poison for their own profit, perfectly regardless of the irreparable injury inflicted, and naturally they feel hostile to all concerned in such a traffic.

One of the most recent and most emphatic expressions of high Chinese opinion is to be found in the letter of Li Hung Chang, the leading statesman of China, to the Anglo-Oriental Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade. It is dated at Tientsin, May 24, 1881. He says:

Opium is a subject in the discussion of which England and China can never meet on common ground. China views the whole question from a moral stand-point; England, from a fiscal. England would sustain a source of revenue in India, while China contends for the lives and prosperity of her people. The ruling motive with China is to repress opium by heavy taxation everywhere, whereas with England the manifest object is to make opium cheaper, and thus increase and stimulate the demand in China. . . . If it be thought that China countenances the import for the revenue it brings, it should be known that my government will gladly cut off all such revenue in order to stop the import of opium. My Sovereign has never desired his empire to thrive upon the lives or infirmities of his subjects. . . . The present import duty on opium was established, not from choice, but because China submitted to the adverse decision of arms. The war must be considered as China's standing protest against legalizing such a revenue.

Space can only be afforded for a single extract to show the opinion of the humbler classes of the Chinese people. The following is from the letter of the Chinese Christians of Hong-Kong to the Anti-Opium Society:

Opium is a burning evil. The smoker loses his character, injures his business and property, ruins himself and his family, and shortens his life. . . . Opium-smoking is a fruitful source of robbery, theft, and all kinds of villainy. . . . It drains China of its wealth, to the enrichment of foreigners; but this is a small matter compared with the slavery in which it binds individuals and society. . . The trade in opium is no better than trade in poison, and it differs from murder by the knife only in its slower operation. . . . Ill-gotten gain brings no blessing with it. At present gain is derived from opium by the calamity of China; the longer this goes on, the more intense hatred does it excite, and the more signal will be the retribution. The revolutions of destiny do not fail. You should not deceive yourselves by saying that China can be easily put down. There is a Heaven above us which weighs our doings without the slightest error.

To sum up in a word, Chinese opinion from the beginning has been in unvarying condemnation of the traffic, as bringing misery upon the people, and as being utterly unjustifiable and cruel on the part of Great Britain. Emperors, statesmen, officers, and people have steadily spoken with unanimous voice on this subject. And the worst of it is that their view of the case is plainly and unanswerably right.

IV. THE RELATION OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE TRADE.

So far as government action is concerned, our general policy has been to have no trouble about any thing with China, to keep on perfectly friendly terms with that country, to let the British and French fight their own battles, and when the war was ended, and treaties were to be made, to come in with the other nations, and secure for our country and our trade as much as was promised to any other country. This has been a very economical, and, on the whole, quite a successful, method of conducting affairs. It is true that the first treaty between the United States and China, in 1844, contained a prohibition of the opium traffic; but this clause was from the very first a dead letter. Almost from the beginning Americans had their share in the profitable but deadly traffic. For many years there was but one American mercantile firm in China

which had not more or less connection with the traffic, namely, that of Messrs. Olyphant & Co., which was always an honorable exception, it being a rule of the house that no opium should be bought or sold by the firm, that none should be transported on any vessel belonging to them, and that it should never be mentioned in their market reports. This stand was taken purely on moral grounds, and was the result of the conscientious conviction of the head of the firm, who was a consistent member of the Presbyterian Church. But, with this exception, American merchants freely participated in the gains of the unholy trade.

But in 1880 our government wished to negotiate a new treaty with China concerning the limitation of Chinese immigration to this country. The clamor for such a treaty was without a decent basis of reason, and was in contravention of our acknowledged principles and our consistent practice for a century. But this is not the place to discuss that question, and it is here introduced only as it is connected with the opium traffic. In the discussions between our commissioners and those of the Chinese government, the latter pointed out that Chinese laborers first went to America because they were greatly desired, and that the new desire that they should stay away was due to the influence of violent men. They, however, agreed to a treaty allowing our government to limit or suspend the immigration of laborers. Now, it is a principle firmly rooted in the Chinese mind that when a concession has been made on one side, there must be a concession on the other side. And when China conceded to us the right to limit immigration, what did she ask in return? Simply that we would help her to get rid of the traffic in opium. This request was made when the "commercial treaty" was under consideration, it having been well understood that the treaty in regard to immigration should be followed by said commercial treaty. Our commissioners, Messrs. Angell, Swift, and Trescot, in their letter to Secretary Evarts, of November 17, 1880, say:

The Chinese commissioners submitted a proposition which we had, from information received, been expecting, but of which they had so far given no sign. That was the prohibition of trade in opium to citizens of the United States. We knew that the Chinese government was very anxious to introduce such an article in any new treaties which they might make. . . . Since our arrival

here, we had had some opportunity of learning how thoroughly sincere the Chinese government was in its desire to suppress this mischievous trade, and we believed that the government had in this effort the entire sympathy both of the government and people of the United States. We therefore agreed to adopt the article, [on certain conditions which they name.]

The treaty thus agreed to was ratified by the President and the Senate. For a thorough-going and concise specimen of prohibition, Article 2 of that treaty cannot be too highly commended. It is as follows:

ARTICLE 2. The governments of China and of the United States mutually agree and undertake that Chinese subjects shall not be permitted to import opium into any of the ports of the United States; and citizens of the United States shall not be permitted to import opium into any of the open ports of China, to transport it from one open port to any other open port, or to buy or sell opium in any of the open ports of China. This absolute prohibition, which extends to vessels owned by the citizens or subjects of either power, and employed by other persons for the transportation of opium, shall be enforced by appropriate legislation on the part of China and the United States, and the benefits of the favored nation clause in existing treaties shall not be claimed by the citizens or subjects of either power as against the provisions of this article.

This treaty will not have much effect in stopping the opium trade as long as England is free to import as much of the drug as she pleases. But it gives China the moral support of the United States in her efforts against the traffic. Other nations will be asked to follow our example, as Russia has already done, and when many have responded, the weight of their example will be brought to bear upon England. Our country has never made a more honorable or righteous treaty with any foreign power. The "Friend of China," discerning the probable outcome of the treaty, says:

The inevitable issue is plainly discernible. For us Englishmen the alternative is this: Will you now, while you can do so in an honorable, though late, repentance, disentangle yourselves from this universally condemned trade, or will you brave the opinion of the world, and persist in the shameful traffic until it is closed for you by causes operating from without, leaving you bereft of its profits, but retaining the indelible infamy?

The present attitude of the United States toward the traffic is one of intense hostility, prohibiting our citizens from any participation in it, and giving China our friendly aid in her efforts to secure its suppression. We suppose this is entirely constitutional, as it has passed the scrutiny of all the keen lawyers in the United States Senate, and received their votes. And if it be constitutional to prohibit our citizens in China from dealing in opium where every body else is at liberty to do it, ought it not to be constitutional for each State to debar its citizens from dealing in intoxicating liquor within its bounds? Ought it not to be as constitutional to protect American citizens as it is to protect Chinese subjects from a great curse? But this is a digression.

V. EFFORTS FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE TRAFFIC.

Individuals have not been lacking during the entire history of the traffic to protest against it and demand its suppression. Various religious bodies have also at times borne their testimony against it—the Society of Friends having in this, as in most other matters of public morals, an honorable record. In 1876 the Anglo-Oriental Society for the Suppression of the . Opium Trade was organized. With the Earl of Shaftesbury as President, and the Bishops of Durham, Ripon, Salisbury, Liverpool, and Mid-China as Vice-Presidents, and the Rev. F. S. Turner as Secretary, and embracing in its membership many of the leading ministers and laymen of Great Britain, it has already greatly influenced the public opinion of the United Kingdom against the traffic. It issues monthly the "Friend of China," which gives the latest statistics, brings out in strong light the varied iniquities of the trade, and points out the appropriate action to be taken. It provides for holding meetings at various places, to awaken the people to the subject. It is active in preparing memorials to Parliament, and in agitating the subject in all suitable ways. It will doubtless be the leader of the Anti-Opium hosts, until victory is secured. There is a growing disposition among the religious assemblies to speak out upon the subject. The Convocation of York, in April, 1881, resolved:

That in the opinion of this House, the opium trade as now carried on between India and China is opposed alike to Christian and national morality, is instrumental in effecting the physical and moral degradation of multitudes of Chinese, and is a hinderance both to legitimate commerce and to the spread of Christianity.

The Methodist Ecumenical Conference, held in London in September, 1881, resolved:

That the growth of the manufacture of opium in India and its export to China, under the direct sanction of the British imperial government, and as virtually a government monopoly, are serious obstacles to the spread of Christianity in China, and injurious to the credit and influence of England throughout the Eastern world. And we most respectfully but earnestly call upon the government to deliver this country from all further responsibility arising from such an iniquitous traffic.

The Friends, the Wesleyans, the New Connection Methodists, the Congregationalists, the Baptists, the English Presbyterians, the Established Church, and the Free Church of Scotland have all given their utterances against the traffic.

A small but noble band in the House of Commons bring forward every year resolutions looking to the termination of the traffic. No one undertakes to answer them on moral grounds. With England it is, as Li Hung Chang says, "a fiscal question," and most English statesmen decline as yet to view it from a moral stand-point.

VI. WHAT OUGHT TO BE DONE?

1. By China.—Being perfectly right in her view of the matter, and having the conscience of the world on her side, she ought to go steadily forward in her determination to suppress the trade. Every new treaty with a foreign nation ought to contain the same prohibition of opium that is found in her last treaty with the United States. She ought to insist upon England's giving up the legalization of the traffic. In the meantime, after giving due notice of her intentions, she ought to put on the drug a duty so high as to amount practically to prohibition. And in order to show her sincerity in the matter, she ought sternly to prohibit the growth of the poppy in her dominions, and take strict measures to enforce her edicts to that end.

2. By Great Britain.—The duty of Great Britain is very tersely stated in the resolutions of the great meeting called by the Lord Mayor of London, at the Mansion House, October 21, 1881, on which occasion the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Manning, and Bishop Simpson appeared on the same platform. It was there resolved:

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That in the opinion of this meeting it is the duty of this country, not only to put an end to the opium trade as now conducted, but to withdraw all encouragement from the growth of the poppy in India, except for strictly medicinal purposes, and to support the Chinese government in its efforts to suppress the traffic.

That in the opinion of this meeting it will be the duty of this country to give such aid to the government of India as may be found reasonable, in order to lessen the inconvenience resulting to its finances from the adoption of the policy advocated in the previous resolution.

The Archbishop of Canterbury closed a strong speech at that meeting with these words:

I observed the other day that one of the articles of the treaty with China contained this clause: "That the Chinese were no longer to call us barbarians"—a most important clause. But what is more important than our not being called barbarians is that we should not act in any respect as barbarians, and forget that it is the duty of the civilized people to introduce among those whom we regard as less civilized than ourselves, not the vices, but the virtues of civilization, and so to help them in the cause of good government, which we trust, by God's blessing, the Chinese empire may gradually attain to.

Unquestionably, the right thing for the British government to do is to do right. The plea of necessity for India's finances is unworthy of serious attention. It can never be necessary to do a great wrong to one country in order to carry on the government of another. A nation that once voted \$100,000,000 to free itself from the guilt and curse of slavery cannot be long staggered by the difficulty of raising sufficient revenue to carry on the government of India, when once its conscience is aroused to the duty of the hour.

3. By all Christian and humane people.—The duty of all who love their fellow-men is to give the aid of their earnest efforts to relieve the Chinese people of this great curse. All the great representative religious bodies should take strong action on the subject. As we have seen, this is being done to a large extent by the Churches of Great Britain. The leading Churches of America, all of which have large and flourishing missions in China, and all of whose missionaries meet this traffic as a great obstacle to the progress of the Gospel, ought to join in respectful remonstrances to the British government against the continuance of the traffic. Our General Confer-

ence might well take the initiative in the matter, and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the General Synod of the Reformed Church, the Baptist Missionary Union, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, might all appropriately join in an earnest protest against the trade. Great Britain would ere long be obliged to listen to the universal protest of Christendom, and would soon find means either to decrease the expenses of the Indian government or to provide for them in some other way than by carrying ruin and death into countless thousands of Chinese homes. In the words of the Rev. S. Whitehead, formerly of the Wesleyan Mission at Canton:

They tell us that the tide of the Solway Firth sometimes, when it comes up, is for a long time not observed, that there is no indication of its rise, that the waters seem sullen as if they would not move, but at last the tide comes up in its force and rushes forward with a speed that outpaces the fastest horseman; and often in the history of this country has it been so with the force, the great tide of public opinion; and I do hold that if we can keep at our work, by and by, that tide slowly rising, gaining strength, at present unobserved, but spreading from heart to heart, from mind to mind, and from home to home, will stir this nation, and rush into the British Houses of Parliament, and then will there come the destruction of this abominable traffic.

And let all the people say Amen!

ART. III.—THE REGENERATION AND GLORIFICATION OF THE BODY.

It has been generally perceived by the Christian Church that there is such a thing as regeneration of the soul, but it has not been so commonly noticed that there is also a regeneration of the body. It is the purpose of this paper to establish the proposition that at the time of the new birth of the soul a physical change, corresponding with the spiritual transformation, begins, which progresses with differing degrees of rapidity in different cases, and which finally culminates in the resurrection of the spiritual body which descended at death into the grave. In this physical regeneration the Spirit of God first "quickens" "our mortal body." After the "quickening" there is

carried forward a long process which may be compared to the gestation of the unborn child in the womb of its mother, and which is, in fact, the gestation of the spiritual body. In the womb of this time-world and within the matrix of this mortal there is preparation going on for some higher organization, as God's formative processes of development and discipline are mysteriously progressing during the whole of this earthly life. Then the body rests awhile in the grave, a stage which, since we are fallen, is doubtless an important part of our physical preparation for a spiritual existence, and which, we may conjecture, is necessary to rid us of our grosser parts. For, as we sing.

"Corruption, earth, and worms
Shall but refine this flesh;
Till our triumphant spirit comes
To put it on afresh."

At last the birth-hour of the resurrection arrives. The Spirit, who raised up Christ from the dead, and who quickened our physical organization at the hour of the new birth of the soul from above, now raises up the perfected spiritual body. To this whole process, including the final union and glorification with the soul, we may, for convenience' sake, apply the term, the regeneration and glorification of the body.

The process of regeneration, using that word in its widest sense, therefore includes in its operation both the material and the immaterial man. Its work is that of restoring us from the effects of sin upon our twofold nature. Its intention is to make things with us as though Adam had not fallen, as far as this can be done, and thus to aid us onward from our lost to our future and heavenly paradise. This design, proposing as it does to undo as much as possible the effects of sin, must necessarily include regeneration of the body. That this process is begun at least in the moment of the new birth from above, if not, indeed, when the repenting soul first seeks after God, we believe to be susceptible of abundant proof.

That there is a regeneration of the physical nature, commencing with the moment of spiritual change, is established by the teachings of physiology. It is axiomatic among physical scientists that mental changes are always accompanied by alterations of organic structure, either as cause or effect. Some late words of Mr. Frederick Harrison, which are referred to with approbation by Professor Huxley,* may serve to represent the conclusions of science upon this close interaction of spirit and matter:

Man is one, however compound. Fire his conscience, and he blushes. Check his circulation, and he thinks wildly, or thinks not at all. Impair his secretions, and moral sense is dulled, discolored, or depraved; his aspirations flag; his hope, love, faith, reel. Impair them still more, and he becomes a brute. A cup of drink degrades his moral nature below that of a swine. Again, a violent emotion of pity or horror makes him vomit. A lancet will restore him from delirium to clear thought. Excess of thought will waste his sinews; excess of muscular action will deaden thought. An emotion will double the strength of his muscles: and at last the prick of a needle or a grain of mineral will, in an instant, lay to rest forever his body and its unity, and all the spontaneous activities of intelligence, feeling, and action with which that compound organism was charged. These are the obvious and ancient observations about the human organism. But modern philosophy and science have carried these hints into complete explanations. By a vast accumulation of proof positive, thought at last has established a distinct correspondence between every process of thought or of feeling, and some corporeal phenomenon.

Now, in view of these facts, if it be admitted that the soul is but a function of the body, as materialism asserts, then the regeneration of the soul would indicate a previous physical change. If, on the contrary, the body is but the servant and instrument of the soul, as we believe, then such a spiritual crisis as the new birth would be at once accompanied by a corresponding bodily alteration. Thus, upon any hypothesis of the relation between soul and body which we may adopt, a metamorphosis in the one would of necessity imply a like occurrence in the other.

This teaching of science is confirmed, in the second place, by common observation. In the majority of instances, perhaps, regeneration manifests itself at once by a variety of physical signs, and especially is this true when it is experienced in the marked, "Methodist," way. Sometimes the change is so great, notably in adults, that it is manifest in gait, in tone of voice, or even in the glance of the eye. Of course these are distinguished instances; but what is true of them is, in the very

^{* &}quot;A Modern Symposium," p. 74.

nature of things, true of all in a measure, since natural and spiritual laws are not variable in their operation. Still more decided is the physical change, when evil appetites are eradicated in a moment. A bodily re-adjustment to better habits and a purer life seems to occur. The physical basis of the artificial or perverted appetite appears to be transformed and the evil desire of which it was the cause vanishes. Drunkards feel the appetite for liquor removed, and users of tobacco lose their cravings for the narcotic. Such cases are numerous and well attested. Once, the confession of such a deliverance from sinful appetites would have subjected him who made it to the charge of enthusiasm, but now the experience is so common and so well proven as scarcely to excite remark.* It is found that the doctrine of a physical change commencing, and more or less present, in every case of regeneration, accounts rationally for these phenomena; and wherever they occur an explanation upon physical grounds is thus provided in advance.

Finally, this doctrine of a physical change accompanying spiritual regeneration is taught in the Scriptures. One of the proof texts is Romans viii, 11: "But if the Spirit of him that raised up Christ from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you." We are aware that this passage is often popularly interpreted as relating exclusively to the final resurrection of the body, but a study of the context will show that if any allusion to this resurrection is intended at all it is only secondary. The primary reference is to that physical change which begins in the body at regeneration, and which mysteriously culminates in the resurrection. Calvin, who follows the comment of Augustine in this matter, says of this passage: "The discourse is not concerning the final resurrection, which occurs in a moment, but concerning the continual operation of the Spirit, who, gradually putting to death the remains of the flesh, begins a celestial life in us. +" Alford adopts Calvin's idea, with the caution that "perhaps 'not alone concerning the final resurrection' would have been more correct, for it certainly is one thing spoken of." And with this

^{* &}quot;Wonders of Grace," W. H. Boole; Dr. Cullis's "Reports;" "Nature and the Supernatural," Bushnell, chap. xiv; etc., etc.

^{+ &}quot;Commentary," in loco.

agree substantially Bengel, Tholuck, Meyer, Stuart, Lange, Van Doren, and, indeed, all the commentators we have noticed on the passage.

Paul has not once, in the preceding verses of the paragraph, referred to the final resurrection, and any exclusive allusion to it is foreign to the scope of his writing, which seems to relate wholly to the change which takes place in regeneration. He tells us (1) what is done for the soul, and (2) what is done for the body. (1) The teaching of the whole epistle previously is that the soul of man, as yet spiritually lifeless, is now "quickened." (2) Then the specific declaration is made that the mortal body is "quickened." The plain implication is, therefore, that the work is simultaneous in both; and no other view would have occurred had it not come to be carelessly assumed, contrary to the spirit of the whole passage and to the teaching of all the scholars, that the "quickening" of the "mortal body" here referred to was to take place in the final resurrection. Moreover, if Paul had intended to speak exclusively of the final resurrection he would have used the same fitting word-eyeipac-which he did in the same verse in speaking of the Saviour's resurrection, instead of choosing a different one - ζωοποιήσει - which simply means "to make alive," either physically or spiritually, and which does not necessarily refer to a future any more than it does to an earthly life. The idea of the passage is, that the body, hitherto "dead in trespasses and sins," is now, in regeneration, "made alive" with the new life, which is to eventuate in the resurrection.

Another scriptural proof of our position is found in many of the terms which Paul applies to the unregenerate state. Why does he say, "They that are in the flesh cannot please God?" Why does he speak of the "body of sin" and the "old man?" Why is sin always, in his mode of speaking, made cognate with the "carnal" and the "fleshly?" Why does he declare "the carnal mind is enmity against God," "the flesh lusteth against the Spirit," and the like? Why, in speaking of himself in his unregenerate state, does he say, "In my flesh dwelleth no good thing?" Why does he speak of the "lust of the flesh?" Such examples of his usage might be multiplied indefinitely.

Certainly all this uniformity of allusion to the "body of sin" is neither an arbitrary thing nor an accidental collocation of words, for Paul was not a person to use language thus, even leaving out of view, if we could, his inspiration. And these words must be something more than mere pretty fancies or barren figures of speech. Indeed, they could not be valid figures of speech unless they had some deeper likeness to reality than that of mere sound or of superficial suggestion. They must rest for their significance upon some profound truth. and must derive their only value as vehicles of thought from the accuracy with which they express a great moral fact. true figure of speech must, so to speak, contain the fact of which it is a symbol. And the truth upon which these expressions rest, the fact which they are intended to teach, is that the unchanged body is one of the chief sources of sin. This is so terribly true that, in the apostle's mode of thought, sin is always associated, if, indeed, it is not identified, with the presence of an unregenerate flesh. There is verily a tragic depth of meaning in Paul's lament for himself in his unrenewed state when he exclaims, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" This expression is not to be explained as a mere trope for a desired spiritual change, which has been suggested to his lively imagination by the practice of chaining a living prisoner to a corpse, but it is a cry for an actual physical deliverance from an unregenerate body a deliverance which shall also accomplish the loosing of his spiritual nature from its loathed contact with corruption. We must interpret the passage thus to bring it into accord with the whole Pauline mode of thought. That deliverance he begins to receive in regeneration; and now, as a consequence, he cries out again with sharp joy, "I thank God through our Lord Jesus Christ!" And this joyous shout in the Romans has its antiphonal note in that jubilant pean of the Corinthian epistle, which celebrates the final triumph of the redeemed body over sin and the grave in the final resurrection: "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?"

His joy for himself upon the renewal of his whole nature in righteousness was such as he afterward felt for the Colossians, who had been saved, as he says, in "putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ." Col. ii, 11.

The mediæval schoolmen and Church fathers had caught a glimpse of Paul's idea that the unchanged body was the seat of sin; and therefrom, in part, they derived that doctrine of the depravity of matter which led to all the dreary excesses of asceticism. They made a mistake, however, when they began to mortify the flesh in order to attain deliverance from sin, for they began at the wrong end of the work. They should first have sought the kingdom of God and his righteousness in the regeneration of the soul, and then would all things pertaining to a physical renewal have been added unto them in due time, and physical mortifications have lost most of their necessity.

Their bodies would still have had to be kept under, as was Paul's, because not yet completely regenerate; and yet the revolt of the carnal man against the Spirit would have been in

process of suppression.

The same idea of a physical along with a spiritual change is necessarily implied, if, indeed, it is not directly taught, in Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians, (v, 16, 17:) "Wherefore henceforth know we no man after the flesh: yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more. Therefore, if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things have passed away; behold, all things are become new." The apostle is here alluding to what took place at his regeneration. Previously he had known both men and Christ from the old fleshly, sinful stand-point. Now, since he is born again, he knows both from a new, holy, spiritual stand-point. It comes to this at last, understand the phrase "after the flesh" any way we may. He continues that if any man has passed from the former to the later state it has been by a new creation. But this is necessarily both spiritual and physical. (1) Because a man is not properly a "new creature," that is, a new creation, until all parts of his complex nature, body as well as soul, are included in some degree in the recreative act. (2) Because, in order to pass from the old carnality to the new spiritual life, the physical basis of that carnality, which is the "flesh," must be transformed.

Our scriptural proof of this doctrine may be fitly concluded by a single quotation from the Epistle to the Colossians, which appears to us to contain all that we have endeavored to set forth, (ii, 11-13:) "Ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ: . . . And you, being dead in your sins, and the uncircumcision of your flesh, hath he quickened together with him, having forgiven you all trespasses." These Colossians were now regenerate persons when these statements were made concerning them, for they were "circumcised," and they had been "dead," but now they were "quickened." This deadness had not pertained solely to their spiritual nature, because it is said that, being already "dead in their sins," they were additionally dead "in the uncircumcision of their flesh." It would be mere tautology for Paul to use this second specification, unless it added a second idea; and what that idea was we have already discovered from his whole teaching. This "quickening" was not a future resurrection, for "you hath he quickened;" and it was accomplished at the same time they had received "forgiveness of all trespasses." With this we rest the argument and come to some practical thoughts.

The regeneration of the body is a matter of interest and importance to the sinner. He finds his physical nature one of the chief obstacles to his becoming a follower of Christ. The sinner is appalled by the view of his own lusts and evil appetites, and deterred thereby from entering upon the better life to which he feels himself called. But there is abundant provision made to meet his case. Perhaps these may be taken away in the beginnings of regeneration, or, perhaps, in his entire sanctification. We incline to the belief that they will be removed as soon as their removal is clearly apprehended as having been made possible to faith, and when that faith is exercised. While John B. Gough declares that the drunkard must always feel and struggle against evil appetite until he dies, we cannot concur; at least this seems not the invariable rule. If God sees best, he will doubtless confer an extraordinary charismatic faith,* which will effect its destruction. In other cases his grace will be sufficient. In others still the appetite will

^{*1} Cor. xii, 9; "Quarterly Review," 1871, p. 443, note by D. D. Whedon; "The Charism of Faith," "Western Christian Advocate," June 30, 1881, J. C. Jackson; "The Gift of Faith and the Grace of Faith," "Christian Standard," March 31, 1883, Daniel Steele.

surely be greatly weakened. But we feel inclined to insist that, as a rule, there is gracious divine provision made for its removal, and that this may be savingly grasped and held. Of course we will still be sick, and still die, for all human experience shows that this part of the penalty of sin is not yet subject to removal. The provision for its destruction is not yet perfectly operative, nor will it be until the resurrection of the last day, which is the time appointed for disease and death to be entirely swallowed up in life. But for the removal of fleshly lusts and evil appetites the complete remedy is now perfectly available, and that remedy is the precious blood of the Lord Jesus Christ. Let the transgressor but look to it in faith, and we believe that as the bodies of the serpent-bitten Israelites were healed when they looked upon the uplifted image in the wilderness, so will the body of the sinner be cured of those evil appetites which are the result of his own misdeeds, or which, perhaps, have become his by inheritance.

There is also in this matter that which is of importance to Christians. Supposing that their bodies have been quickened, and that unholy lusts have been eradicated or repressed, then their members are to be held inviolably sacred to God, being yielded servants to righteousness. A Christian's soul is already, by anticipation, a celestial spirit, a citizen of heaven, for into that goodly fellowship it was introduced by the consecrating baptism of the Holy Ghost. His body is already, by anticipation, a spiritual body, one of the bodies of heaven, for into the regenerated nature which will compose the new heavens and the new earth it has been introduced by the consecrating baptism of water. Even now, with the whole creation, it groaningly awaits the full manifestation of the sons of God and the regeneration of all things. God's seal is upon the Christian's body, and it is to be held sacred. Let him beware of evil; although saved, he is not beyond temptation and falling, for even though his bodily and spiritual state were by a miracle of divine recreative energy made equal in perfection to that of unfallen Adam, he would not be beyond the possibility of lapse. By gratifying an innocent appetite with an unlawful object, our first parent fell into transgression, and in the same way have since fallen thousands once regenerate.

Finally, from this subject we gain some dim idea of part of

our perfection in heaven. To repeat some of the thoughts with which we began, we have seen that, in conversion, God "quickens" "our mortal bodies." After the quickening a long process ensues, which may be compared to gestation. Then our physical nature passes through the grave, doubtless a necessary stage in the preparation of the spiritual body. Somewhere and somehow, by this time, the physical nature has been freed from its carnality, inherited or acquired, so that now the purified physical nature is ready to be raised up. For, as Christlieb says: "We must not forget that it is not earthly matter, per se, which is incapable of being developed into a spiritual state of existence, but only the defilement that cleaves to it in our fallen condition that prevents this. The terrestrial body, as such, is destined to be spiritualized; but if this is its destiny it must also possess the capability. This shows us at the same time the reason why the sinless body of Christ could be immediately transmuted. Its purity was the possibility of its transformation." Now, our own bodily purification being accomplished by the processes of grace and the grave, the birth-hour of the resurrection comes. The Spirit who raised up Christ, and who quickened aforetime our mortal bodies, now raises us up. The soul, already prepared in the intermediate state, next comes and takes possession of the prepared and perfect organ of its future activities. Then for the first time is realized the ancient philosophic dream of a sound mind in a sound body, though in a higher sense than was ever imagined. Then all the diseases and weaknesses that were the result of either our natural limitations or of the actual sins of the flesh are gone, because our physical man is wholly regenerated. The soul perfectly helps the body, and the body the soul, the old antagonism between the two having utterly vanished. This is part of the glorification of man in heaven, to which all Christians are now upon the way. Immortality already stirs within their ransomed spirits, and in their very bodies they feel the growing powers of the world to come.

^{* &}quot;Modern Doubt and Christian Belief," p. 476.

ART. IV.—WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey. By ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D., Dean of Westminster. Third and Revised Edition. London: John Murray. 1869. 8vo, pp. 704.

The fame of Westminster Abbey is world-wide. It stands, the index of Anglo-Saxon greatness, the monument of England's unquestioned stability. It is the historian of eight long centuries of British progress. It is a vast pile of Gothic architecture worth going many miles to see, ornamented without and within with all that the hand of skillful artisan and the purse of royalty itself could supply. It is earth's richest mausoleum, where scores, especially of those who were kings in the world of Mind, whose fame is more secure with every passing year, have been laid to rest. It has witnessed royal marriages, coronations, and burials, and is thus peculiarly endeared to Britain's sons. It challenges the admiration of hosts of others as well, visitors from afar, who have traversed again and again its long halls and walked reverently through its royal chapels.

The Abbey of Westminster hath been always held the greatest sanctuary and randevouze of devotion of the whole island; whereunto the situation of the very place seems to contribute much and to strike a holy kind of reverence and sweetness of melting piety in the hearts of the beholders.*

The famous church has been eagerly sought out by visitors from every clime. Already in the reign of Elizabeth distinguished foreigners were taken in gondolas "to the beautiful and large royal church called Westminster." It is at least possible (the choice lies between Westminster, St. Paul's, or King's College, Cambridge) that it was in Westminster the youthful Milton

"Let his dere feet never fail
To walk the studious cloister pale,
And love the high embowered roof
With antick pillars massy proof,
And storied windows richly dight
Casting a dim, religious light."

Burke "visited the Abbey soon after his arrival in town," and the moment he entered he felt a kind of awe pervade his mind which he could not describe; "the very silence seemed

^{*} Howell's "Perlustration of London," p. 346. 1657.

sacred." Horace Walpole loved Westminster Abbey "much more than levees and circles." Washington Irving was a close observer of its wonderful attractiveness.

The carefully prepared volume before us, dedicated to her Majesty Queen Victoria, "A humble record of the royal and national sanctuary which has for centuries enshrined the varied memories of her august ancestors, and the manifold glories of her free and famous kingdom, and which witnessed the solemn consecration of her own auspicious reign to all high and holy purposes," is doubly interesting on account of the large-heart-edness of its illustrious author, who, so short a time ago, was laid to rest within the quiet walls of the Abbey he loved and served so well. We stood but yesterday by this newest grave of all, covered with wreaths of immortelles, the gifts of loving hearts, and thanked God again for the beautiful life of the great Dean Stanley. Were there no other, the volume before us would be a worthy monument of his highly cultured mind and his noble heart.

On the occasion of the eight hundredth anniversary of the dedication of the Abbey, in December, 1865, the friends of Dean Stanley, especially his associates at Westminster, expressed the desire that he would illustrate its history by Memorials similar to those he had previously published in connection with Canterbury Cathedral. The desire was complied with, and the result is the volume whose title-page we have quoted, and which must possess a lasting interest, not only to the historian and the ecclesiastical scholar, but to the archæological student and to the great world of English people every-where. Much had already been written on the Abbey, but none of the writers, it is safe to say, had enjoyed such rare facilities as did Dean Stanley for consulting original sources of information such as the Archives preserved in the Abbey, reaching back to the charters of the Saxon kings, the Chapter Books, extending from 1542 to the present, the Burial Registers, from 1606 to the present, and various other important MSS. rare opportunity was appreciated and well improved.

As will be understood at once by those most familiar with the history of Westminster Abbey, the compiling such Memorials was no easy task; the very multitude of historical events with which the famous edifice has been connected increased the difficulty; but out of the diversified materials before him with manifest painstaking our author educed a volume which must long remain an unquestioned authority, and commend itself to all who would know the Abbey. The opening chapter treats of the Foundation of the Abbey; the second describes the Coronations, from that of William the Conqueror, December 25, 1066, to that of Queen Victoria, June 28, 1838; the third tells of the Royal Tombs; the fourth describes the Monuments; the fifth the Abbey before the Reformation, (the Monastery, Cloisters, Treasury, Chapter House, Infirmary, etc.;) the sixth chapter gives a history of the Abbey since the Reformation. There are also interesting appendixes, addenda, and a chronological table of events. The pages are filled with helpful references which point the way to additional information.

In the interests of those who have not been privileged to visit London a few words of commonplace description may be admissible. Westminster Abbey stands in the western part of London within two hundred yards of the Houses of Parliament on the banks of the heavily burdened Thames, near Westminster Bridge. We are told that

the devout king [Edward the Confessor] destined to God that place both for that it was near unto the famous and wealthy city of London, and also had a pleasant situation amongst fruitful fields lying round about it with the principal river running hard by, bringing in from all parts of the world great variety of wares and merchandise of all sorts to the city adjoining; but chiefly for the love of the chief apostle, whom he reverenced with a special and singular affection.*

The "fruitful fields" have long since given place to blocks of buildings and crowded streets, and the quietude which once so distinguished the place as a worthy site for church and monastery has disappeared; the cab, omnibus, and street-car rattle over the ground where formerly abbots and monks reverently paced, while the rush and roar of the world's great metropoli are heard on every side.

The Abbey church is cruciform. The length of the nave is 166 feet, the breadth 38, the height 101 feet; the breadth of the aisles is 16, the extreme breadth of nave and aisles, 71 feet; the length of the choir is 155, the breadth 38, the height 101

^{*} Harleian MSS., p. 980.

feet; the length of transepts and choir is 203, the breadth of transepts and aisles, 84 feet. The extreme length of the Abbey, including Henry VII.'s chapel, is 530 feet; the height of the western towers is 225, of the north front, 166 feet. As it originally stood, the edifice was somewhat smaller; chapel after chapel has been added; * the two imposing towers at the western entrance are the work of Sir Christopher Wren, no mean monument of his great genius; and thus the building has grown to its present proportions. Its architectural beauty is best comprehended by surveying it from the north-west; the effect upon the mind of the spectator is not soon effaced, is never forgotten. One of the most gifted of the many brilliant writers who sleep here has well described "with a feeling beyond his age" the effect of the great cathedral on the awe-struck beholder:

"All is hushed and still as death. 'Tis dreadful! How reverend is the face of this tall pile, Whose ancient pillars rear their marble heads To bear aloft its arched and ponderous roof, By its own weight made steadfast and immovable, Looking tranquillity! It strikes an awe And terror on my aching sight; the tombs And monumental caves of death look cold, And shoot a chillness to my trembling heart."

The site of the Abbey was formerly an island, (or peninsula,) and derived its name from its thickets of thorn—Thorn Ey, (or Dorney,) the Isle of Thorns—

which formed in their jungle a refuge for the wild ox or huge red deer with towering antlers, that strayed into it from the neighboring hills. This spot, thus intrenched, marsh within marsh and forest within forest, was, indeed, locus terribilis, "the terrible place," as it was called in the first notices of its existence; yet even thus early it presented several points of attraction to the founder of whatever was the original building which was to redeem it from the wilderness. It had the advantages of a Thebaid, as contrasted with the stir and tumult of the neighboring fortress of London.

The river flowing past swarmed with fish, the soil was salubrious, springs of pure water bubbled up in the center of the thickets.

^{*}There are nine chapels: St. Benedict's, St. Edmund's, St. Nicolas's, Henry VII.'s, St. Paul's, Edward the Confessor's, St. Erasmus's, St. John the Baptist's, and Abbot Islip's chapel.

What was the first settlement in those thorny shades, amid those watery wastes, beside that bubbling spring, it is impossible to decipher. The monastic traditions maintained that the earliest building had been a temple of Apollo, shaken down by an earthquake in the year A. D. 154. But this is probably no more than the attempt to outshine the rival Cathedral of St. Paul's by endeavoring to counterbalance the dubious claims of the temple of Diana by a still more dubious assertion of the claims of the temple of her brother the sun-god.

Our author passes by the claims of King Lucius, who, it was said, converted the two London temples into churches; and also those of Sebert, (A. D. 616,) whose grave is still shown outside the Abbey. There is conclusive evidence that the Abbey was founded by Edward the Confessor, "the monument not merely of the personal piety, but of the personal character and circumstances of its founder." This king, who occupied so prominent a place in the history of England, was the last of the Saxons and the first of the Normans.

The idea of a regal Abbey on a hitherto unexampled scale may have been suggested or strengthened by the accounts brought back to him of Reims, where his envoys had been present at the consecration of the Abbey of St. Remy, hard by the cathedral in which the French kings were crowned. But the prevailing motive was of a more peculiar kind, belonging to times long since passed away. In that age, as still among some classes in Roman Catholic countries, religious sentiment took the form of special devotion to this or that particular saint. Among Edward's favorites St. Peter was chief. On his protection while in Normandy, while casting about for help, the exiled prince had thrown himself, and vowed that if he returned in safety he would make a pilgrimage to the apostle's grave at Rome.

When he came to the throne he announced to his Great Council his purpose of fulfilling his vow, but neither nobles nor people would listen to the proposal. The king at last gave way, a deputation was sent to the Pope, who released the royal suppliant from his vow on condition that he should found or restore a monastery of St. Peter, (the full title of Westminster Abbey is "The Collegiate Church or Abbey of St. Peter,") of which the king should be the especial patron.

The Abbey was fifteen years or more in building. The king spent upon it one tenth of the property of the kingdom.

It was to be a marvel of its kind. Its fame as a new style of composition lingered in the minds of men for generations. It 30—FOURTH SERIES, VOL. XXXVI.

was the first cruciform church in England, from which all the rest of like shape were copied—an expression of the increasing hold which the idea of the crucifixion in the tenth century had laid on the imagination of Europe. Its massive roof and pillars formed a contrast with the rude wooden rafters and beams of the common Saxon churches. Its very size, occupying as it did almost the whole area of the present building, was in itself portentous. The deep foundations, of large square blocks of gray stone, were duly laid. The east end was rounded into an apse. A tower rose in the center, crowned by a cupola of wood. At the western end were erected two smaller towers with five large bells. The hard, strong stones were richly sculptured. The windows were filled with stained glass. The roof was covered with lead.—Pp. 26, 27.

At last the day of dedication arrived. "At midwinter," says the Saxon chronicle, "King Edward came to Westminster and had the minster there consecrated which he had himself built to the honor of God and St. Peter and all God's saints." The dedication occurred December 28, 1065, and a few days later, January 5, 1066, the Confessor died.

The first event in the Abbey of which there is any certain record, after the burial of the Confessor, was the coronation of William the Conqueror. No other coronation rite in Europe reaches back to so early a period as that of the sovereigns of Britain. According to tradition Arthur was crowned at Stonehenge. Of the Saxon kings, seven, from Edward the Elder to Etheldred, (A. D. 900-971) were crowned on the king's stone (still to be seen in the market-place of Kingston on Thames) by the first ford of the Thames. The Danish Hardicanute was believed to have been crowned at Oxford. William's selection of the newly dedicated church for the most important act of his life sprang directly from regard to the Confessor's memory. To be crowned beside the grave of the last Saxon king was the direct fulfillment of the whole plan of the Conqueror. The coronation occurred on Christmas day, A. D. 1066. What with the Saxon populace of London within the Abbey and the suspicious Norman soldiers without, the whole scene was marked by calamitous confusion, and the ceremony was hurried on and abruptly ended.

From this time forward the ceremony of the coronation has been inalienably attached to the Abbey. Its connection with the grave of the Confessor was long preserved even in its minutest forms. The form of the oath, retained until the time of James II., was to observe "the laws of the glorious Confessor."

The following is a list of subsequent coronations: William Rufus, September 26, 1087; Henry I., August 5, 1100; Stephen, December 26, 1135; Henry II., December 19, 1154; Richard I., September 3, 1189; John, May 27, 1199; Henry III., October 28, 1216; Edward I., August 19, 1274; Edward II., February 25, 1308; Edward III., February 1, 1327; Richard II., July 16, 1377; Henry IV., October 13, 1399; Henry V., April 9, 1413; Henry VI., November 6, 1429; Edward IV., June 29, 1466; (Edward V., uncrowned;) Richard III., July 6, 1483; Henry VII., October 30, 1485; Henry VIII., June 24, 1509; Edward VI., February 20, 1546; Queen Mary, October 1, 1553; Queen Elizabeth, January 15, 1559; James I., July 25, 1603; Charles I., February 2, 1625; * Charles II., April 23, 1661; James II., April 23, 1685; William and Mary, April 11, 1689; Queen Anne, April 23, 1702; George I., October 20, 1714; George II., October 11, 1727; George III., September 22, 1761; George IV., July 19, 1821; William IV., September 8, 1831; Queen Victoria, June 28, 1838.

The last coronation doubtless still lives in the recollection of all who witnessed it. They will long remember the early summer morning, when, at break of day, the streets were crowded, and the vast city awake—the first sight of the Abbey, crowded with the mass of gorgeous spectators, themselves a pageant—the electric shock through the whole mass when the first gun announced that the Queen was on her way-and the thrill of expectation with which the iron rails seemed to tremble in the hands of the spectators, as the long procession closed with the entrance of the small figure, marked out from all beside by the regal train and attendants, floating like a crimson and silvery cloud behind her.' At the moment when she first came within the full view of the Abbey, and paused, as if for breath, with clasped hands—as she moved on to her place by the altar—as in the deep silence of the vast multitude the tremulous voice of Archbishop Howley could be faintly heard, even to the remotest corners of the choir, asking for the recognition—as she sat immovable on the throne, when the crown touched her head, amid shout and trumpet and the roar of cannon—there must have been many who felt a hope that the loyalty which had

^{*}Oliver Cromwell was enthroned as Lord Protector, not in the Abbey, but in the adjacent hall, June 26, 1657, the famous chair of Scotland being taken out of the Abbey for the purpose.

waxed cold in the preceding reigns would once more revive, in a more serious form than it had, perhaps, ever worn before. Other solemnities they may have seen more beautiful, or more strange, or more touching, but none at once so gorgeous and so impressive, in recollections, in actual sight, and in promise of

what was to be.—Pp. 110, 111.

With this fairy vision ends for us the series of the most continuous succession of events that the Abbey has witnessed. None such belongs to any other building in the world. The coronation of the kings of France at Reims, and of the popes in the Basilica of the Vatican, most nearly approach it. But Reims is now deserted, and the present church of St. Peter is by five centuries more modern than the Abbey. The Westminster coronations are thus the outward expression of the grandeur of the English monarchy. They serve to mark the various turns in the winding road along which it has passed to its present form. They reflect the various proportions in which its elective and its hereditary character have counterbalanced each other. They contain, on the one hand, in the Recognition, the Enthronization, and the oath, the utterances of the "fierce democracy" of the people of England. They contain, on the other hand, in the Unction, the Crown, the Fatal Stone, in the sanction of the prelates and the homage of the nobles, the primitive regard for sacred places, sacred relics, consecrated persons, and heaven-descended rights, lingering on through all the counteracting tendencies of change and time."-Pp. 111, 112.

Every one who has visited Westminster Abbey has seen the famous coronation chair inclosing the still more famous Stone of Scone. This stone was formerly in the capital of the Scottish kingdom, and with it, at least as early as the fourteenth century, was connected the following legend:

The stony pillow on which Jacob slept at Bethel was by his countrymen transported to Egypt. Thither came Gathelus, son of Cecrops, king of Athens, and married Scota, daughter of Pharaoh. He and his Egyptian wife, alarmed at the fame of Moses, fled with the stone to Sicily or to Spain. From Spain it was carried to Ireland. On the sacred hill of Tara it became "Lia Fail," the "Stone of Destiny." On it the kings of Ireland were placed. If the chief was a true successor, the stone was silent; if a pretender, it groaned aloud as with thunder. Fergus, the founder of the Scottish monarchy, bore the sacred stone across the sea from Ireland to Dunstaffnage. In the vaults of Dunstaffnage Castle a hole is still shown where it is said to have been laid. With the migration of the Scots eastward the stone was moved by Kenneth II. (A. D. 840) and planted on a raised plot of ground at Scone, "because that the last battle with the Picts was there fought." It was there encased in a chair of

wood and stood by a cross on the east of the monastic cemetery, on or beside the Mount of Belief, which still exists. In it, or upon it, the kings of Scotland were placed by the Earls of Fife. From it Scone became the sedes principalis of Scotland, and the kingdom of Scotland the kingdom of Scotland the kingdom, was regarded as the

capital city of Scotland.

On this precious relic Edward I. fixed his hold. On it he himself was crowned king of the Scots. Westminster was to be an English Scone. It was his latest care for the Abbey. In that last year of Edward's reign [1307] the venerable chair, which still incloses it, was made for it by the order of its captor; the fragment of the world-old Celtic races was embedded in the new Plantagenet oak. The king had originally intended the seat to have been of bronze, and the workman, Adam, had actually begun it. But it was ultimately constructed of wood and decorated by Walter the painter.—Pp. 61–63.

In this chair (scratched over from top to bottom with the names of inquisitive visitors) and on this throne every English sovereign from Edward I. to Queen Victoria has been inaugurated. Once only has it been moved out of the Abbey, at the installation of Cromwell as Lord Protector. It has been called the one primeval monument which binds together the whole empire. The iron rings, the battered surface, the crack which has all but rent its solid mass asunder, bear witness to its long migrations—

"A base, foul stone made precious by the foil
Of England's chair."
—RICHARD III., Act V. Sc. III.

Much of the interest one takes in Westminster Abbey arises from the royal tombs it contains. "The burial-places of kings are always famous." The example of Constantine, who was laid in the Church of the Apostles at Constantinople, has been followed east and west, and every European nation has now its royal consecrated cemetery. Westminster Abbey unites the coronations with the burials.

"That antique pile behold,

Where royal heads receive the sacred gold;

It gives them crowns, and does their ashes keep;

There made like gods, like mortals there they sleep;

Making the circle of their reign complete,

These suns of empire, where they rise they set."

—WALLER, on St. James's Park.

The grave of Edward the Confessor drew other royal sepulchers around it. The custom, however, grew but slowly, and

has not been universal. The Conqueror was buried at Caen, William Rufus at Winchester, Henry I. at Reading, Henry II. and Richard I. at Fontevrault, John at Worcester, and others elsewhere. Henry III. (1216–1272) rebuilt and beautified the Abbey. At his coronation he dedicated the "Lady Chapel," built at the eastern end of the Abbey, a prolongation of the building, "a new place of honor behind the altar."

This king was distinguished for a passionate addiction to art in all its forms, and was greatly influenced by what he saw in his visits to France. He determined to make his new church (he went so far as to tear down the venerable pile consecrated by the recollections of the Confessor and the Conqueror) in-

comparable for beauty.

On it foreign painters and sculptors were invited to expend their utmost skill. "Peter the Roman citizen" was set at work on the shrine, where his name can still be read. The mosaics were from Rome. Mosaics and enamel were combined throughout in a union found nowhere else in England.

The king's extravagance is seen in the fact that he expended half a million pounds sterling on the edifice. The sums making up this amount were appropriated from high quarters and low "with desperate avidity."

The enormous exactions have left their lasting traces on the English constitution in no less a monument than the House of Commons, which rose into existence as a protest against the king's lavish expenditure on the mighty Abbey which it confronts.

In the center of this richly ornamented structure was erected the costly shrine of the Confessor, which remains to the present. To this spot, on the 13th of October, 1269, the corpse of Edward was translated with great pomp. Henry, during the fifty or more years of his reign, had seen the new Abbey arise in all its beauty, and decided that it should be the sepulcher of himself and the whole Plantagenet race. He died November 16, 1272, and was buried four days later, his body being laid in the empty coffin of the Confessor; ten years later his body was placed in the tomb built meanwhile out of the precious marbles and slabs of porphyry brought from the East by his son.

One of the most noticeable tombs is that of Henry V., whose funeral, grand beyond description, occurred November

7, 1422. For the erection of his chantry a new chapel sprang up, growing out of that of St. Edward and almost reaching the dignity of another Lady Chapel.

High above his tomb were hung his large emblazoned shield, his saddle, and his helmet, where they still remain. The saddle is that on which he

"'Vaulted with such ease into his seat
As if an angel dropped down from the clouds
To witch the world with noble horsemanship.'"
—HENRY V., Act IV, Sc. I.

The helmet is in all probability "that very casque that did affright the air at Agincourt," which twice saved his life on that eventful day—still showing in its dints the marks of the ponderous sword of the Duke of Alençon—"the bruised helmet" which he refused to have borne in state before him on his triumphal entry into London "for that he would have the praise chiefly given to God"—

"'Being free from vainness and self-glorious pride, Giving full trophy, signal and ostent, Quite from himself to God.'"—HENRY V., Act V, Cho.

The chapel of Henry VII. occupies the extreme eastern part of the Abbey. It is a magnificent structure, built in the French style. The king's pride in its grandeur was commemorated by the ship, vast for those times, which he built "of equal cost with his chapel," which afterward, in the reign of Mary, "sank in the sea and vanished in a moment." The chapel was begun January 24, 1503, and was about completed at his death, May 9, 1509. Round his tomb stand his ten accustomed avours or guardian saints, St. Michael, St. John the Baptist, St. John the Evangelist, St. George, St. Anthony, St. Edward, St. Vincent, St. Anne, St. Mary Magdalene, and St. Barbara, as ordered in his will. Bacon, his historian, says:

So he lieth buried at Westminster, in one of the stateliest and daintiest monuments of Europe, both for the chapel and the sepulcher. So that he dwelleth more richly dead in the monument of his tomb than he did alive in Richmond or any of his palaces.

Along the sides of this old chapel are hung the faded banners which once belonged to the Knights of the Bath, a title which first appears as a distinctive name in the time of Henry V. The knights were bathed in the prince's chamber and kept their vigil in Henry VII.'s chapel, where also the installations took place; they continued until 1812, since which time

they have ceased. In 1839 the order underwent so extensive an enlargement that no banners have since been added to those then hung in the chapel. Under the banners are the knights' stalls.

Queen Elizabeth died in Richmond Palace March 24, 1603. Her body was brought by the Thames to Westminster April 28.

> "The queen did come by water to Whitehall, The oars at every stroke did tears let fall."

She was buried in Henry VII.'s chapel by the unmarked grave of her unfortunate predecessor.

At the head of the monument raised by her successor over the narrow vault are to be read two lines full of a far deeper feeling than we should naturally have ascribed to him—"Regno consortes et urna, hic obdormimus Elizabetha et Maria sorores in speresurrectionis?" The long war of the English Reformation is closed in those words. In that contracted sepulcher, admitting of none other but those two, the stately coffin of Elizabeth rests on the coffin of Mary. The sisters are at one; the daughter of Catherine of Aragon and the daughter of Anne Boleyn repose in peace at last.—P. 181.

Strange to say, the tomb of no less a personage than James I. was unknown until 1869. The attention of Dean Stanley had been called to the conflicting accounts as found in the printed statements, and with the concurrence of the proper authorities he instituted a careful search, and after a number of disappointments succeeded in finding the resting-place of the king. The printed accounts of James's interment were found entirely at fault, and the accuracy of the Abbey Register was curiously confirmed. The coffin was found in the tomb of Henry VII., along with those of this king and his queen.

Apart from his immediate and glorious predecessor—apart from his mother, then lying in her almost empty vault with his eldest son—apart from his two beloved infant daughters—apart from his queen, who lies alone in her ample vault as if waiting for her husband to fill the vacant space—the first Stuart king, who united England and Scotland, was laid in the venerable cavern, for such in effect it is, which contained the remains of the first Tudor king, who, with his queen, had united the two contending factions of English history.—P. 684, (Appendix.)

The last king buried in the Abbey was George II., whose funeral (described by Horace Walpole) occurred November 11, 1760. The latest royal interments have been at Windsor.

The chapter on the "Monuments" is introduced by the lines of Tickell—among the best of the many which the suggestive place has called forth:

"Oft let me range the gloomy aisles alone,
Sad luxury! To vulgar minds unknown,
Along the walls where speaking marbles show
What worthies form the hallowed mold below;
Proud names, who once the reins of empire held,
In arms who triumphed, or in arts excelled;
Chiefs graced with scars and prodigal of blood;
Stern patriots, who for sacred freedom stood;
Just men, by whom impartial laws were given;
And saints who taught, and led the way to heaven."

Of all the characteristics of Westminster Abbey, that which most endears it to the nation and gives most force to its name is that it is the resting-place of famous Englishmen from every rank and creed and every form of mind and genius.

It is this aspect which, more than any other, won for it the delightful visits of Addison in the "Spectator," of Steele in the "Tattler," of Goldsmith in the "Citizen of the World," of Charles Lamb in "Elia," of Washington Irving in the "Sketch Book." It is this which inspired the saying of Nelson, "Victory or Westminster Abbey!" and which has intertwined it with so many eloquent passages of Macaulay. Kings are no longer buried within its walls; even the splendor of pageants has ceased to attract; but the desire to be interred in Westminster Abbey is still as strong as ever.—Pp. 207, 208.

The many monuments, too numerous to be even enumerated here, are grouped and described by our author as follows: Courtiers of various kings and queens; magnates of the commonwealth; chiefs of the Reformation; heroes of the Dutch war, the revolution of 1688, etc.; statesmen of the house of Hanover; soldiers; sailors; heroes of American and Indian wars; modern statesmen; Indian statesmen; philanthropists; poets; historians; theologians; men of letters; actors; musicians; artists; men of science; physicians; the nobility. We must content ourselves with a brief mention of a few of the names found in the southern transept or "Poets' Corner." Washington Irving speaks for all his countrymen when he says:

I have always observed that the visitors to the Abbey remain longest about the simple memorials in Poets' Corner. A kinder and fonder feeling takes the place of that cold curiosity

or vague admiration with which they gaze on the splendid monuments of the great and the heroic. They linger about these as about the tombs of friends and companions.*

The great Chaucer died (October 25, 1400) in a house standing on what is now a part of the Abbey; among his last utterances were the pathetic words—

"Here is no home—here is but wilderness, Forth, pilgrim; forth, O, beast, out of thy stall! Look up on high, and thank thy God of all. Control thy lust; and let thy spirit thee lead; And Truth thee shall deliver; 'tis no dread."

Royal favor secured for him a resting-place in the Abbey. It was not till the reign of Edward VI. that the present tomb was raised, (1551.)

Spenser, who died January 16, 1599, lies near Chaucer.

His hearse was attended by poets, and mournful elegies and poems, with the pens that wrote them, were thrown into his tomb. What a funeral was that at which Beaumont, Fletcher, Jonson, and in all probability Shakespeare, attended! What a grave in which the pen of Shakespeare may be molding away!

Beaumont also lies near Chaucer. He died March 9, 1615. A year later, April 23, 1616, Shakespeare died; owing, no doubt, to the imperfect recognition of his genius, he was buried at Stratford, where he still lies; his beautiful monument in the Abbey, with its appropriate inscription from the "Tempest," was erected in 1740. Ben Jonson, "the first unquestionable laureate," soon followed; he died August 16, 1637. According to the local tradition, he asked the king (Charles I.) to grant him a favor. "What is it?" said the king. "Give me eighteen inches of square ground." "Where?" asked the king. "In Westminster Abbey." This is one explanation given of the story that he was buried standing upright. Another is that it was with a view to his readiness for the resurrection. He lies buried in the north aisle, in the path of square stone opposite to the scutcheon of Robertus De Ros, with this inscription only on him, in a pavement-square of blue marble, about fourteen inches square,

O RARE BEN JONSON!

"which was done at the charge of Jack Young, (afterward

[&]quot; "Sketch Book," p. 216.

knighted,) who, walking there when the grave was covering, gave the fellow eighteen-pence to cut it."

Goldsmith, who died April 4, 1774, was buried at the Temple. "I remember once," said Dr. Johnson, "being with Goldsmith in Westminster Abbey. While we surveyed the Poets' Corner I said to him, 'Forsitan et nostrum nomen miscebitur istis.' When we got to Temple Bar he stopped me, pointed to the heads [of the Jacobites] upon it and slyly whispered me, 'Forsitan et nostrum nomen miscebiter istis.'"

Goldsmith's monument is on the south wall of the south transept in a situation selected by Sir Joshua Reynolds and with the well known Latin inscription composed by Dr. Johnson, who denied even the famous round-robin of his friends asking that the epitaph might be in English rather than in Latin.

The whole inscription shows the supreme position which Goldsmith occupied in English literature; and one expression, at least, has passed from it into the proverbial Latin of mankind—Nihil tetigit quod non ornavit.

Goldsmith was soon followed by Johnson.

A few days before his death (December 13, 1784) he asked Sir John Hawkins, one of his executors, where he should be buried; and on being answered, "Doubtless in Westminster Abbey," seemed to feel a satisfaction very natural to a poet, and indeed very natural to every man of any imagination who has no family sepulcher in which he can be laid with his fathers.

A flag-stone with the name of Johnson and the date alone marks the spot, (near the Shakespeare monument.) The monument long intended to be placed on it was at last transferred to St. Paul's.

The vacillating character of public opinion is well illustrated in the case of Milton. His death occurred in 1674. Thirty years later, in 1708, John Philips, confessedly an imitator of the great poet, died and was buried in the Abbey. The partial patron who composed the inscription on his tomb declared that in the field of blank verse he was second to Milton alone: "Uni Miltono secundus, primoque pone par." The words were obliterated, as the Royalist Dean would not allow the name of "the regicide Milton" to be engraved on the walls of the Abbey. Four years later, when Atterbury was Dean, the excommunication was removed and the obnoxious lines

admitted. Another four years later "the irresistible feeling of admiration growing in every English heart" found free expression. "Such was the change of public opinion," said Dr. Gregory to Dr. Johnson, "that I have seen erected in the church a bust of that man whose name I once knew considered as a pollution of its walls." "It is, indeed," says Dean Stanley, "a triumph of the force of truth and genius such as of itself hallows the place which has witnessed it."

Another illustration of the tardy recognition of real worth and greatness is seen in the memorial tablet so recently erected to John and Charles Wesley, whose brief inscription will be read with appreciative hearts by others as well as Methodist visitors to this famous shrine. It may not be generally known that the Wesleys were connected with the great Abbey. Dean Stanley tells us that

Samuel Wesley, elder brother of John and Charles, who inherited his mother's strong Jacobite tendencies, was attracted to a mastership at Westminster by his friendship for Atterbury; and in his house was nurtured his brother Charles, "the sweet psalmist" of the Church of those days, who went from thence as a Westminster student to Christ Church.

If ever hero deserved interment within these royal walls it was he whose embalmed body was brought a short yesterday ago from beyond the sea and placed here—the immortal Livingstone, "missionary, philanthropist, explorer." As one stands above the grave and reads the well-worded inscription on the stone he cannot but feel the inspiration that comes from the study of the life of a great, unselfish man.

As we stroll through the Poets' Corner and think of the greatest geniuses who have followed in the steps of Chaucer we miss several of the most famous. Pope is not here. It was his own wish (as expressed in his epitaph) to be interred by his mother's side in the parish church of Twickenham. Of a later date, Burns sleeps at Dumfries, Sir Walter Scott at Dryburgh; Byron lies at Newstead. "We cannot even now retrace the close of the brilliant and miserable career of the most celebrated Englishman of the nineteenth century," says Macaulay, "without feeling something of what was felt by those who saw the hearse, with its long train of carriages, turn slowly northward, leaving behind it that cemetery which had

been consecrated by the dust of so many great poets, but of which the doors were closed against all that remained of Byron." It was understood that an unfavorable answer would be given to any application to inter Byron in the Abbey.

The monuments to actors bring us to a subject where opinions certainly differ. In France—not over-religious, surely— Christian burial was denied to actors unless they repudiated their profession; but the Church of England, following the example of Rome, has shown greater liberality of opinion, and Westminster Abbey is the crowning scene of this triumph of the stage. "Not only has it included under its walls the memorials of the greatest of dramatists, and also those whose morality is the most obnoxious to complaint, but it has opened its doors to the whole race of illustrious actors and actresses." We are not surprised to read that a protest was raised against the epitaph of Shadwell, and also against the monument of Anne Oldfield, (buried in the Abbey October 27, 1730.) Graves like hers and that of Congreve seem sadly out of place in the sacred mausoleum. On visiting Garrick's monument, even Charles Lamb, "the gentlest and most genial of mortals," was constrained to say:

Though I would not go so far, with some good Catholics abroad, as to shut players altogether out of consecrated ground, yet I own I was a little scandalized at the introduction of theatrical airs and gestures into a place set apart to remind us of the saddest realities. Going nearer, I found inscribed under this harlequin figure a farrage of false thoughts and nonsense.

Dean Stanley's remarks on this subject are so characteristic that they deserve a place here:

Courayer, the foreign latitudinarian, Ephraim Chambers, the skeptic of the humbler, and Sheffield, of the higher ranks, were buried with all respect and honor by the "College of Priests" at Westminster, who thus acknowledged that the bruised reed was not to be broken nor the smoking flax quenched. Even the yet harder problem of high intellectual gifts united with moral infirmity or depravity has, on the whole, here met with the only solution which on earth can be given. If Byron was turned from our doors, many a one as questionable as Byron has been admitted. Close above the monument of the devoted Granville Sharpe is the monument of the epicurean St. Evremond. Close beneath the tablet of the blameless Wharton lies the licentious Congreve. The godlike gift of genius was recognized—the baser earthly

part was left to the merciful judgment of its Creator. So long as Westminster Abbey maintains its hold on the affections of the English Church and nation, so long will it remain a standing proof that there is in the truest feelings of human nature, and in the noblest aspirations of religion, something deeper and broader than the partial judgments of the day and the technical distinctions of sects—even than the just though, for the moment, misplaced indignation against the errors and sins of our brethren. It is the involuntary homage which perverted genius pays to the superior worth of goodness that it seeks to be at least honored within the building consecrated to the purest hopes of the soul of man; and when we consent to receive such within our walls it is the best acknowledgment of the truth uttered by the Christian poet:

"There is no light but thine, With thee all beauty glows."

The oft-quoted words of Addison very naturally suggest themselves to one as he walks through those consecrated aisles and looks upon the numerous monuments:

When I am in a serious humor I very often walk by myself in Westminster Abbey; where the gloominess of the place, and the use to which it is applied, with the solemnity of the building, and the condition of the people who lie in it, are apt to fill the mind with a kind of melancholy, or rather thoughtfulness, that is not disagreeable. . . . I know that entertainments of this nature are apt to raise dark and dismal thoughts in timorous minds and gloomy imaginations; but for my own part, though I am always serious, I do not know what it is to be melancholy; and can therefore take a view of nature in her deep and solemn scenes with the same pleasure as in her most gay and delightful ones. By this means I can improve myself with those objects which others consider with terror. When I look upon the tombs of the great, every emotion of envy dies in me; when I read the epitaphs of the beautiful, every inordinate desire grows out; when I meet with the grief of parents upon a tombstone, my heart melts with compassion; when I see the tomb of the parents themselves, I consider the vanity of grieving for those whom we must quickly follow; when I see kings lying by those who deposed them, when I consider rival wits placed side by side, or the holy men that divided the world with their contests and disputes, I reflect with sorrow and astonishment on the little competitions, factions, and debates of mankind. When I read the several dates of the tombs, of some that died yesterday and some six hundred years ago, I consider that great day when we shall all of us be contemporaries and make our appearance together.*

Westminster Abbey is above eulogistic phrases. Its future will, no doubt, be at least holier than its past. We can most

^{* &}quot;Spectator," No. 26.

heartily agree with Dean Stanley in the concluding utterances of the work before us:

Not surely in vain did the architects of successive generations raise this consecrated edifice in its vast and delicate proportions, more keenly appreciated in this our day than in any other since it first was built; designed, if ever were any forms on earth, to lift the soul heavenward to things unseen. Not surely in vain has our English language grown to meet the highest ends of devotion with a force which the rude native dialect and barbaric Latin of the Confessor's age could never attain. Not surely for idle waste has a whole world of sacred music been created which no ear of Norman or Plantagenet ever heard, nor skill of Saxon harper or Celtic minstrel ever conceived. Not surely for nothing has the knowledge of the will of God almost steadily increased century by century, through the better understanding of the Bible, of history, and of nature. Not surely in vain has the heart of man kept its freshness while the world has been waxing old, and the most restless and inquiring intellects cling to the belief that "the everlasting arms are still beneath us," and that "prayer is the potent inner supplement of man's outward life." Here, if anywhere, the Christian worship of England may labor to meet both the strength and the weakness of succeeding ages; to inspire new meaning into ancient forms, and embrace within itself each rising aspiration after all greatness, human and divine.

So considered, so used, the Abbey of Westminster may become more and more a witness to that one Sovereign Good, to that one Supreme Truth—a shadow of a great rock in a weary land, a haven of rest in this tumultuous world, a breakwater for the waves upon waves of human hearts and souls which beat unceasingly around its island shores.—P. 583.

ART. V.—RUSSIA AND ENGLAND IN CENTRAL ASIA.

The Territorial Expansion of Russia. By D. Mackenzie Wallace. "The Fortnightly Review," 1876.

Afghanistan. By A. G. Constable. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Account of Persia. By James B. Fraser. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Story of the Merv. By EDMOND O'DONOVAN. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. 1884.

No event is insignificant, for every event has its relations, and is a link in the extended chain of human progress. Things comparatively trivial have their bearing on the question of the world's civilization. The common interest of all men in what concerns any portion of the race is a demonstrable fact. The cannon discharged in the mountain-passes of Central Asia send

their reverberations into all lands. The dominancy, in the strongholds of the East, of Saxon or Cossack, of Christian or Mussulman, is a matter which concerns us and our children, and

all the coming generations of men.

The submission of the tribes of Merv to Russia may not seem. at first view, to be an affair of very great importance. If Turcomania has really become a part of the great growing empire of Russia, it may not be immediately manifest how the interests of civilization will be affected. But Russia, the territorial neighbor of England—Russia, on the very borders of India— Russia, holding the strong mountain districts which command, in a military sense, the rich provinces of Hindustan-Russia, allying to herself the warlike tribes of Central Asia—this may mean a fierce contest of arms, involving the great powers of Europe, determining the course of future events, and helping or hindering the happiness of mankind. O'Donovan, in the narrative of his thrilling adventures, describes the Merv as including the entire country occupied by the Turcoman clans known as the Merv Tekkes. The capture of Geok Tepe by the Russians occurred while O'Donovan was experiencing his honorable captivity in Turcoman. Although created a khan, and treated with marked distinction, he was, nevertheless, held as a prisoner, and was only released in accordance with the peremptory demand of the British minister at Teheran, the Persian capital. The reason seemed to be, that the Mervs feared subjugation by the Russians, and were really anxious to secure the protection of England. "The Turcomans entertained the belief," says O'Donovan, "that British troops would speedily march, via Herat to Merv, if they were not already on the way." But, at that very time, the English were preparing to evacuate Candahar, and to leave not only the Tekkes, but also the Afghans, to such fortune as might come to them from Russian diplomacy and arms. The Merv chiefs were ready enough to fight against Ayoub Khan, if permitted to do so under the English banner, and, indeed, they formally proffered their allegiance to the British Queen; but the English embas-. sador at the Persian court, while thanking them for their kindly sentiments, said: "It is my duty, however, to state to you, with reference to the proffer of allegiance to the British government, that the proposal that the people of Merv should

become British subjects is one that, owing to various causes, physical as well as political, cannot be entertained." English policy left Russia at liberty to prosecute her ambitious designs unobstructed, and recent events certainly do not surprise those who have carefully observed the drift of affairs. The Russian eagles are now on the borders of Afghanistan, which country is separated from Turkistan only by the Paropamisan Mountains, and by the Hindoo-Coosh—a crest of the Himalaya range. The Jelum and the Indus Rivers formerly divided Afghanistan from India, but the acquisition of Scinde and Punjaub carried the line of British dominion westward, nearly to the base of the Solyman Mountains. It is plain, therefore, that the place to defend Calcutta, Delhi, and Bombay is not on the banks of the Indus, but in the impregnable mountain-passes of the Hindoo-Coosh. The practical extension of the Russian frontier makes the question of the political or governmental control of the powerless states of Central Asia, as well as the question of the future of the British Empire in India, a living question, demanding immediate consideration, and one which is of transcendent importance to the Old World and the New. English occupation in Hindustan has been a steady advance from the South toward this disputed border-land; in the meantime, Russia has as steadily moved down from the North. Constable said, in 1879:

The Russian journals of recent date make no secret of Kaufmann's intention to occupy the oasis of Merv, if he can reach it. Once at Merv, which is within ten easy marches of Herat, the Russians are in possession of a base from which they might, with comparative security and a reasonable chance of success, operate against Afghanistan, and, in the event of a failure on the part of the English to prepare for such a contingency, even against India itself. Whether the Russian policy is really antagonistic to the English rule in India or not, it is, as I have said, impossible for the Indian government to shut its eyes to the possibilities of a Russian, Persian, Turcoman, and Usbeg force marching on Herat.

Russia has control of the Caspian Sea, the Aral Sea, and the river Oxus. She dictates the policy of the Persian court, and she has a faithful ally in the Emir of Bokhara. The victories of Kaufmann have not only secured to her important strategical positions in Turkistan, but have also opened her way to the very gates of Afghanistan. If she can secure 31—FOURTH SERIES, VOL. XXXVI.

Herat or Cabul, or even a protectorate over the territory of the latter, she has reached the north-western boundary of India, and holds in her hands the keys of the East. Herat is a point of great importance. It is a frontier town between Persia and Afghanistan, and it is connected by high-roads with the capitals of all the surrounding countries. Every invasion of India has been by the way of the Bolan Pass, southward of Herat, on to the plains of the Indus. The Persian siege of Herat, in 1838, as was well understood in India, was encouraged by Russia. It is even certain that Russian officers assisted the Persians in the siege. More than a score of times have pillaging armies, seeking not only conquest, but plunder, swept down

upon India through the defiles of Afghanistan.

"Where then," inquires Constable, "is the strategical frontier of British India?" "I think," he answers, "the English are about to settle this by the permanent occupation of the interior of these famous passes." If, for the last fifty years, Russian officers in Central Asia have coveted the wealth and warmth, the rich harvests and the richer cities of India, is it any marvel that in England, and especially among British residents in India, there has been a growing determination that, cost what it may, the Cossacks shall remain on the northern slopes of the Hindoo-Coosh? The Russian advancement and interference have been constant. The English general, Rob erts, in an official report, confirms the suspicion that Russian or other foreign officers assisted Ayoub Khan, when in arms against British authority. The necessity of a permanent English protectorate in Afghanistan becomes more manifest every hour. It was said, when Gen. Burrows was defeated, with the loss of two thousand European troops and a large India contingent, and the expenditure of twenty millions sterling, that it was paying "a high price for a scientific frontier."

One might answer this in the language of D. Mackenzie

Wallace, in "The Fortnightly Review:"

The idea of a central zone between the Russian and British frontiers in Asia is an absurdity, fit only to amuse diplomatists, and unworthy of being entertained by practical statesmen, unless, indeed, it were possible to find a broad uninhabited zone which would serve the same purpose as the great wall of China. If it be habitable, it will inevitably become an asylum for all the robbers and lawless spirits within a radius of many hundred miles,

and no civilized power can reasonably be expected to accept such neighbors. If such a zone had been established, Russia might justly have spoken to England in this fashion: "I object to have at my doors this refuge for rascality. Either you must preserve order among the inmates or allow me to do so."... Russia must push forward her frontier until she reaches a country possessing a government which is able and willing to keep order within its borders, and to prevent its subjects from committing depredations on their neighbors. As none of the petty states of Central Asia seems capable of permanently fulfilling this condition, it is pretty certain that the Russian and British frontiers will one day meet. Where they will meet depends upon ourselves. If we do not wish her to overstep a certain line, we must ourselves advance to that line.

This reasoning is entirely conclusive, and in perfect harmony with the facts.

Many persons seem to think that this question of the presence and influence of a great European power in Afghanistan is a recent question. On the contrary, it is as old as the century, and every far-seeing statesman for at least two generations, having knowledge of affairs in the East, has realized its existence and importance. In 1809 Napoleon sent Gen. Gardauné to Persia in the hope of inducing the Shah to invade India; and the Indian government, at about the same time, sent a representative to the court of Shah Soojah, in Afghanistan, to create an opposition to Persia. A mission was also sent to the Persian court, and an alliance, offensive and defensive, was actually entered into by the Persian and British governments. It is well known that Napoleon regarded India as England's vulnerable point, and that he cherished an ambition of rivaling the fame of Alexander by a triumphant march through the East. But Wellington settled that little matter on the field of Waterloo, and there was no longer any danger to India from the diplomacy or arms of France.

Then arose the dark shadow of Russian aggression. "The annexation of Georgia to the empire of the Czar," as Constable says, "brought the eagles of Russia to the frontiers of Persia." Since that day, no English statesman has been indifferent to the affairs of Central Asia. They are germinant with empire, and they contain, in embryo, what must seriously affect the great future of the race. The Russian policy has been a constant quantity; her diplomacy and arms have borne

her victorious standards steadily forward toward the shores of the Indian Ocean. But English operations, especially in Afghanistan, which is really the key to the situation, have ebbed and flowed with the waves of partisan politics at home. Vast sums have been expended, and thousands of precious lives sacrificed, for no valuable result. The prediction of Constable has not been fulfilled. "The permanent occupation of the interior of the famous passes," in Afghanistan, which are the natural and well-nigh impregnable defenses of the British Empire in India, has not been realized. If a contrary policy had been pursued—if Candahar and Cabul and Herat, and the adjacent provinces, had been taken under British protection—if the English flag had been boldly planted on the summits of the Hindoo-Coosh—an alliance might have been formed with the Turcomans which would have secured to England, in case of necessity, a hundred thousand mounted troops, and which would have arrested the advance of the Russian eagles on the shores of the Caspian or the banks of the Oxus. But the cry of "Jingoism" and the clamors of the rate-pavers weakened the hands of the government. What had been secured was relinquished. And yet in the disastrous hour of Gen. Burrows's defeat, when it was persistently asked, "Why was an English army in Afghanistan to be slaughtered?" it might have been triumphantly answered: The army was there as the representative of the English name and power; it was there as the defender of the empire of India, with its one hundred thousand European residents and as many more Eurasians; with its nine hundred and fifty thousand square miles of territory and its one hundred and ninety millions of people, to say nothing of dependencies; with its two hundred millions of dollars of annual revenue, all of which and more is expended in India for the improvement and elevation of the country and its inhabitants; with its paid-up railway capital of four hundred and twenty-five millions of dollars, represented by five thousand miles of trunk railway, linking together such distant and important points as Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, and Lahore; with its nearly two thousand miles of irrigating canals and other works of irrigation, to prevent or to mitigate famine; and with its fifteen thousand miles of land and marine telegraph, bringing every part of the eastern

British Empire within twelve hours of speaking distance of London. It was there because, as the Russian frontier advances, the area for British commerce diminishes; it was there to prevent Russian custom-houses, with their protective tariffs, from being established within gun-shot of British sentries on the Indus; it was there as the pioneer of Anglo-Saxon ideas, books, enginery, printing-presses, locomotives, telegraphs, schools, churches, and all the practical benefits of the richest material and spiritual civilization on the globe; it was there to command peace among warring tribes, and, soon or later, to secure it, and to bring to all of them impartially the blessings of law, order, and stability; it was there to guard those mountain defiles through which every invading army has come, on its errand of robbery and murder, into the rich lands and cities of India: it was there because of the right of self-preservation, and because England stands before the world as the protector of two hundred and fifty millions of Orientals whom she is bound to defend against spoliation and ruin; it was there in the interest of nearly two millions of Christians occupying British Asia, and intensely concerned in the permanence and power of England's empire in the East; it was there, finally, because the invasion of Afghanistan was required by British policy in Asia, and because the prestige of the British Empire must be preserved or the evacuation of India must follow.

The wisdom of the British diplomacy, the prowess of the British army, the weight and majesty of the British government, must be maintained in Afghanistan, and must be demonstrated to all fanatical Moslems, and to all intriguing adherents of Russia, and to all the native races south of the Himalayas, or the pillars of Britain's empire in the East will be wrenched from their foundation, and the whole magnificent structure she has reared be reduced to a hopeless ruin.

The evacuation of India, at the bidding of Mohammedan or Cossack, would be the permanent humiliation of England, an irreparable misfortune to two hundred and fifty millions of Moslems and Hindus, and a serious disaster to the civilized world. It would so effectually arrest and turn back the tide of Christian advancement and of human progress that centuries would not witness the reflow and the recovery of what had

been lost. It would stagnate the world's commerce and send financial wreck and ruin into every realm of trade. On the fair missionary morning of the world's redemption and millennial glory it would cast the midnight blackness of despair and death. England's Queen is also India's Empress, and Great Britain is bound to devote her last shilling and her last soldier before that diadem is snatched from Victoria's brow.

England and Russia face each other in the passes and on the mountain-ranges of Afghanistan. It is an Anglo-Saxon or a Cossack victory which is to be achieved. It is a contest, not only for empire and national supremacy, but for civilization. for liberty, for the future of the race. It is a deadly grip betwixt Protestantism and the Greek Church, betwixt liberal forms of government and a crushing despotism, betwixt an open field for missionary activities and the withering blight of The best hopes of man, for the best possible future Nihilism. of the race, shine, with growing brightness, in the advance and triumph of the English arms. If English power and English law become predominant and permanent in Afghanistan, the missionary and the Bible will follow; all the rich fruits of material progress will be reaped by all the people of that land: churches and schools will be established, roads and bridges will be constructed, and, although the great mass of the present generation may die in the faith of Islam, the Gospel leaven will ultimately accomplish its work and produce a nobler and more beneficent type of social and religious life. Christian civilization advances with the flag of every great Protestant power; and if England shall become as securely intrenched in Afghanistan as she is in India, kindred results of Gospel teaching and triumph will be developed. English predominance in Afghanistan will make an end of the wars of upstart princes and contending factions; will emancipate woman from a tyranny greater than that of the sword, and give her equal rights in the school and in the church, and will secure to labor its just and honorable fruits—the accumulation of property and its undisturbed possession. "Intellectual and moral power," says Bishop Edward Thomson, "has both rights and responsibilities, and is destined to rule the earth under the providence of God." He argues that pagan and Mohammedan peoples "may do wrongs which may justify superior nations in exercising

power over them," and this exercise of power may improve their condition and promote all their best interests. There can be no dispute that British authority in India, while it has despoiled, sometimes unjustly and cruelly, native princes, has nevertheless emancipated the oppressed peoples, abolished hurtful superstitions, and greatly benefited the masses. would it advantage the peoples of Hindustan," asks Constable, "to change English for Russian rule? The Russians govern with the iron hand of military power. The English government of India is based on civil law, right, and justice, although sustained by mighty strength." He argues that the great feudal chiefs of India, Hindu and Mussulman, understand the difference between English and Russian rule, and concludes as follows: "With our knowledge of the facility with which Russia could, in alliance with Persia and the Afghans, enter the plains of India, surely we may concede that it is the paramount duty of England to take every precaution against such a result." Not only Persians and Afghans will be rallied under the Russian banner, but Turcomans also, who, as we have seen, offered their allegiance to England and were repulsed. Constable says:

These Tekkes are the most warlike of the Turcoman race, and are settled, if a nomadic people can ever be called settled, along the river Attruck and the skirts of the hills from the Caspian to the Merv. They number sixty thousand tents, or—five persons to a tent—three hundred thousand souls. If they are brought under the influence of Russia they, with the Salor and Saruk tribes, could readily furnish a force of fifty thousand men, which, under Russian officers, would be the most formidable light cavalry in the world.

O'Donovan describes the Tekkes as splendid horsemen and fearless fighters, delighting in raids and contests of arms.

There is another element entering into this problem of empire in the East which is of stupendous importance, and that is, the religious element. It is not merely a contest betwixt the Greek Church and Protestantism, or betwixt Christianity and paganism. In religion the Afghans and the Turcomans are Mohammedans, and are intensely superstitious and bigoted. Russia does not seek to impose on her subjects in Central Asia the forms of the Greek Church. The Crescent and the Cross seem to be equally in favor with the government. No spirit

of propagandism is manifested by the adherents of the State In this particular Russia has an advantage in the fierce struggle for dominion; for British authority, established in any land, is certain to be followed by Protestant. teaching and the spirit and work of evangelism. It is reasonable to expect that the followers of the False Prophet will be easily stirred to vindictive opposition in the presence of an earnest Christian faith, and of persistent missionary labors. Islam, in the East, it is claimed, is tolerant of Parsees and Christians; but that is only in so far as Parsees and Christians. do not interfere with the doctrine and worship of Moham-That the Turcomans and Afghans, and many of the dwellers in India, are Mussulmans, is a fact which must not be overlooked, or treated as of inferior importance, when we consider the gigantic forces which are to shape the future of Asiatic civilization.

Islam, from the beginning, has been a drama of marvel and power—splendid as a spectacle, and brilliant in achievement. One cannot contemplate without emotion that stupendous movement, embodying so much truth and so much falsehood, which, within a hundred years of the hegira of its great prophet, by preaching and praying and fighting, had fired its followers with the fiercest fanaticism, had made them superior to danger and death, and had converted them into such a body of invincible crusaders as the world has seldom seen. Islam—the word, though applied to a religion promulgated by fire and sword, means to make peace—beginning in an obscure city by the Red Sea, displaying the crescent, image of its growing power, promising paradise to the faithful, denouncing death and hell upon all unbelievers, and shouting in the ears of Christians and idolaters, "There is but one God, and Mohammed is his prophet;" arising at a period when Roman strength and glory were waning, and when there was no great, compact power to resist its advances; "more pure," as Gibbon says, "than the system of Zoroaster, more liberal than the law of Moses," and "less inconsistent with reason than the creed of mystery and superstition which, in the seventh century, disgraced the simplicity of the Gospel;" declaring, in its sacred book, that "the sword is the key of heaven and hell," that a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two

months of fasting and prayer;" that "whosoever falls in battle his sins are forgiven, at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermilion, and odoriferous as musk," and that "the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubim;" teaching a doctrine of absolute fate and predestination, in accordance with which the dauntless Moslem ordained to perish in his bed, was absolutely safe and invulnerable from the darts of the enemy; summoning its followers "to freedom and victory, to arms and rapine, to the indulgence of their darling passions in this world and the other;" painting the rewards and punishments of a future life "by the images most congenial to an ignorant and carnal generation "-Islam, in a single century, had carried its victorious standards throughout Arabia, Syria, Persia, Afghanistan, and portions of India; and also through Egypt, Tunis, Tripoli, Algeria, and Morocco, to the very shores of the Atlantic, where the zealous Akbar, the Mohammedan Alexander, spurring his horse into the foaming waves, exclaimed with the enthusiasm of an apostle and with the bitterness of a fanatic, "Great God! if my course were not stopped by this sea, I would still go on to the unknown kingdoms of the West, preaching the unity of thy holy name, and putting to the sword the rebellious nations who worship any other gods than thee."

Though the armies of Islam could not cross the Atlantic, they could cross the Mediterranean, and the banner of the False Prophet was unfurled in triumph in the fairest provinces of Spain—in Andalusia, in Catalonia, in Castile, in Aragon, in Léon, and even in Asturias, in the extreme north. The Cross went down before the Crescent from the Strait of Gibraltar to the Bay of Biscay. The successes were as marked on the other side of the Pyrenees, till Charles Martel, on the banks of the Loire, in the very heart of France, gave Islam a blow which won for him the epithet "Hammer of God," stayed the proud waves of Moslem triumph, broke the spell of Mohammedan invincibility, and saved Europe and America to Christ and to

Christian civilization.

In India, to-day, out of a total population of two hundred and forty-two millions, more than forty millions are Mohammedans; and in the provinces ruled by native princes, but sustained by British arms and influence, are about eight millions more. Of these forty-eight millions of Moslems thirtysix millions are distributed over northern India. On the western border, from the Himalaya Mountains to the Indian Ocean, they constitute not less than eighty per cent. of the total population. The government schools in India and the government offices are open to Mohammedans as well as to Hindus. Mohammedans form, it is said, the greater part of the Anglo-Indian army, and also of the native police. No Moslem prince, not even the Sultan of Turkey, rules over as many Mohammedans as the Protestant Queen of England and Empress of India. The followers of Islam in Afghanistan and in India, separated only by an invisible boundary line, are quickly and responsively sympathetic with each other. Can any man fail to see how profoundly this condition of things must enter into the question of the future of the British Empire in India? The successful government of the Moslem east of the Indus makes it necessary that the Moslem of Afghanistan and of Turcoman shall have a salutary respect for British power, courage, and resources. This is not a mere matter of political philosophy: historic facts demonstrate the proposition.

When Sir John Lawrence, Viceroy of India, entered on his high office in January, 1864, he found abundant proofs that the insurrection of the Sittanna fanatics, on the northwest frontier of India, had been encouraged by Mohammedan agents, who had been sent from Afghanistan to different parts of the empire to preach a holy war against the infidels. The influence of the Wahabees, a bitter fanatical Mohammedan sect who hold that it is the imperative duty of every true Mussulman to murder infidel rulers, has been steadily increasing in India for a number of years. They say that no one can be permanent master of Hindustan unless he invades it from the north; and that as the English sneaked into it from the south they will soon be driven out. It is indisputable that the Mussulmans of India are filled with a longing faith and expectation that their Imam-a prince of supreme temporal and spiritual power-is to come out of the West, to give them the government of Asia. They look with an earnest, enthusiastic hope for the flaming sign of a deliverer who shall appear on the mountain summits where the Arvans first rested on their march, to lead all those who shall be so happy

as to be there waiting for his coming to victory over the infidel here, and to sensuous delights in a promised paradise. The direct way, therefore, to keep down the Moslem turbulence in India is to subdue utterly the fierce, fanatical Mohammedans of Afghanistan and of Turkistan. It is from this quarter that the conquering leader is expected to come, and from which very possibly he may come. It is plain, then, that English predominance in Cabul, in Herat, and in Candahar, means peace, security, and social and financial prosperity in India.

"Any one who has lived on friendly terms with Mohammedans," says "The Fortnightly Review," "must have noticed that they are utterly inaccessible to the influence of Christianity. They are proud of their Mohammedanism, and look down on Christians as polytheists." It argues, therefore, that they are "pretty certain to withstand the proselyting tendencies of other faiths." But proselyting agencies are not the weapons of our warfare. The Gospel must be preached to these proud bigots as to other sinners, and with them, as with other sinners, it will prove the power of God unto salvation. Why should it not? Islam is rigidly monotheistic. It unites with Jew and Christian in proclaiming the sublime truth, before which every idolatrous system perishes, "The Lord our God is one Lord." It recognizes the authority of the Holy Scriptures. A Mohammedan scholar, Saiyid Ahmed Khan, Chief-Justice at Ghazipoor, on the Ganges, has made a translation of the Old and New Testaments, since both, he says, are still binding for the faith and life of Mohammedans. Rev. T. P. Hughes, missionary of the Church Missionary Society at Peshawur, says: "In Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, the conversion of a Moslem is looked upon as almost hopeless, whereas in the central provinces, and in the Punjaub, some of our best and most energetic Christians are converts from Islam." In the Syrian missions, where the missionaries are not allowed to preach openly among the Moslems, many girls have been gathered into the mission schools. Speaking of missions in Turkey and Persia, Mr. H. K. Carroll says: "Although few of the followers of the False Prophet have been reached by any of these missions, the influence of a pure and vital Christianity has had an effect upon them." So it

must be every-where. The Church is a city set on a hill, and in every land where it is established the light, soon or later, will scatter the darkness and reveal the truths of Christ's kingdom.

In some things it would seem that the Koran must prepare the way for the introduction of the Gospel. It affirms the divine presence, and demolishes idols and images. "We are only two," said the trembling Abubeker when, flying from persecution, he was with the prophet hidden in a cave. "There is a third," replied Mohammed, "it is God himself." The Koran forbids absolutely the use of wine, and enjoins prayer, fasting, and alms-giving, and insists that cleanliness is the key to prayer; and all this would be very salutary gospel for many a Christian congregation. O'Donovan states that when in Merv he was called on by a Sevd, a descendant of Mohammed, who said that he (O'Donovan) was so well acquainted with Mussulman tenets he saw no reason whatever why he should not openly embrace the true faith. Jesus and Moses were, he said, quite as much respected by the adherents of Islam as by his own co-religionists. In addition to the theological argument he offered O'Donovan the luxury of as many as four wives if he became a Mussulman. It is insisted, by a thoroughly competent observer, that, at least in Africa, "the work of Islam is preliminary and preparatory" to the introduction and triumph of the Gospel.

Christianity and Mohammedanism are the only growing, aggressive, missionary faiths, or religions, now in the world. They must yet meet in an open field, in the arena of reason and conscience, in a final and, it may be, prolonged and desperate struggle for prevalence and victory. Who can doubt the result? Or who can fail to see which side is for man, for material growth, for social well-being, for the uplifting of the race, and for the glory of God?

"No use to preach the Gospel to Mohammedans!" It is an old story, with but a slight variation. No use to preach the Gospel to Indians, to Negroes, to Hottentots, to cannibals, to savages, to bloodthirsty, dirt-eating pagans! Such have been the admonitions which the Church has received at different periods; and yet, among all these, jewels have been found for Messiah's crown. The Gospel which triumphed over the

bigoted Jew, the cultured Greek, the arrogant Roman, the brutal Goth and Vandal; which, in our day, has kindled its torch on every shore from Greenland to New Zealand; which has surrounded the continent of Africa with its blazing camp-fires; which has converted a howling wilderness into the garden of God, a very Eden of moral loveliness, in the Sandwich Islands and in Madagascar; which has conquered a continental empire for Christ in Australasia, making churches and conferences out of savages and cannibals; which has seen its promulgation crowned with wonderful success in India, in what Dr. Schlier calls "the Satansburgh of heathendom," and which Bishop Edward Thomson describes as "This great moral pest-house, this Babel of devils;" which has taught thousands of "heathen Chinee" to sing, with raptured lips, "All hail the power of Jesus' name!" which has its witnesses in all lands and in all tongues-will yet win its triumphs in all the dark domain of the False Prophet. The Cross shall be lifted higher than the Crescent; the sword shall be discarded as a weapon for the extension of the faith; the harem and the vision of a sensual heaven shall disappear; the muezzin who calls to prayer shall ask that it be offered in the name of Jesus; and Mohammedan mosques, like idolatrous temples, shall be converted into sanctuaries for the religion of the Christ.

The great cathedral of Damascus still stands, but the Christian church has been turned into a mosque. Over one magnificent portal the original inscription, written in Greek, still remains, unobliterated by time or hostile hands, and unheeded by the haughty ignorance of the Moslem. The saddened Christian is cheered as he reads the exhilarating and prophetic words, 'Η βασιλεία σου, Χριστέ, βασιλεία πάντων τῶν αιώνων—"Thy kingdom, O Christ, is an everlasting kingdom." It is the word of our God; and in beautiful Damascus—in profaned Jerusalem—in spoiled Alexandria—in Mecca, throne of the False Prophet—in Constantinople, so long trodden under foot by savage Turks—in Calcutta and Lahore—in Cabul and Candahar—in Asia, in Africa, and in all lands, the shout shall ring from earth to heaven, "Thy kingdom, O Christ, is an

everlasting kingdom!"

The one unfailing key to history is in the avowed aim and object of our Lord and King to "set judgment in the earth."

This Messianic design, by peace or war, by the rise or fall of nations, will always be divinely promoted. The Prince of Judah will never turn from his great purpose to destroy idolatrous and despotic powers, to sweep away cruel superstitions and destructive infidelities, to lift up the under-foot humanity, to honor woman and to dignify childhood, to arch the sky of paganism with the rainbow of an immortal hope, to establish homes and schools and peaceful communities, to fill all lands with the splendors and glories of a Christian civilization, and to bring in and permanently establish the new earth and heaven. Neither Cossack nor Mussulman can stand athwart the prophetic purpose. Paganism will perish; empires, dynasties, and dominions of continental extent and colossal power will sink into decrepitude and death; but that which is for man, for his elevation and happiness, will survive every change, and will be crowned with ultimate success. This is the voice of all history; this is the gladdening truth now shining in the heavens; this is the Gospel assurance for the future of the race; and this will be the grand consummation of Messiah's glorious reign!

ART. VI.—AUTHORSHIP OF ECCLESIASTES.

No book in the sacred Canon has been more variously interpreted than Ecclesiastes. One reason for this is the fact that commentators are so little agreed in regard to its authorship. There are two schools, namely: 1. The Solomonic, which claims that it is from the pen of Solomon; and 2. (that which for convenience' sake we may designate) The non-Solomonic; a term vague in itself, but which comprises all those who, though widely differing in their interpretation of the book, yet agree in rejecting the Solomonic authorship. Tradition from the earliest times ascribes Ecclesiastes to Solomon. For many centuries very few doubted the correctness of this view; nearly the whole Church acquiesced in it; and thus by common consent it was generally believed to have been written by the wise king. During the Middle Ages it would have been considered heretical to regard it as a book written after the

Solomonic period. But with the Reformation came a new era in Biblical criticism. Theology in all its branches began to be treated much as any other science, and questions which had been regarded as forever settled were again openly discussed, and not seldom did the critics arrive at conclusions widely at variance with the dogmas previously accepted. Some of these new ideas appeared like mist, only to be swept away before the brilliant rays of the rising sun; others proved more real and abiding; a few still remain open questions.

In order to form a correct idea of the subject, it will be necessary to make use of all the light which we may have from ancient as well as modern hermeneutics, and therefore it will be profitable for us to begin by inquiring into the opinions held by the ancient Jewish expositors.

These, almost without dissent, favor the Solomonic origin. The Targum of Koheleth, written, perhaps, in the sixth century A. D., adopts the Solomonic authorship. So also the Midrash, and indeed the great mass of all Jewish commentators down to the last century.* While a very few of the ancient rabbis object to the canonicity of Ecclesiastes, none object to its authorship. The statement in the Talmud (Baba Bathra, fol. 14, 15) that the college of Hezekiah wrote (בַּחָבֵּי) the book, or that of Rabbi Gedaliah (Shalshel Hakkal, fol. 66) that it was written by Isaiah, † does not necessarily mean that Ecclesiastes was composed by the college of Hezekiah or by Isaiah, for the word בַּחַב, as a rule, signifies to copy. Nevertheless, we must not forget that objections to its inspiration and canonicity were not wanting from the earliest times. Its canonicity was discussed in the Synod of Jerusalem, about 65 A. D., and afterward, A. D. 90, at the Synod of Yabne. The discussion was carried on between the schools of Hillel and Shammai, the latter deciding against, and the former for, its canonicity. The school of Shammai opposed its canonicity on doctrinal grounds, claiming that Ecclesiastes contained passages which are mutually contradictory, therefore irreconcilable, and consequently uninspired. The parts of the book to which objections are urged are, chap. ii, 2; vii, 3; viii, 15. (Sabbath, 30b; Megilla, 7a.) Not only did certain portions of the book contradict

^{*} Plumptre: "Commentary" on Ecclesiastes, p. 75.

^{† &}quot;Encyclopædia Britannica," art. "Ecclesiastes."

the others, but it was also at variance with Moses, therefore heretical. (Midrash Koheleth, under xi, 9.) The following are the two passages referred to: "Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth; and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thine heart, and in the sight of thine eyes," etc., (Eccles. xi, 9.) which, according to the rabbis, could not be reconciled with Num. xv, 39: "And it shall be unto you for a fringe, that ye may look upon it, and remember all the commandments of the Lord, and that ye seek not after your own heart and your own eyes." These objections may seem puerile to us, and the passages may not contain even an apparent contradiction. They are cited by us simply as historical facts, and must be taken for what they are worth.

Jerome writes, that the Jews of his time were not without their objections to this book. According to him, they say: "Among other writings of Solomon which have become antiquated, and the memory of them lost, this book deserves to be obliterated, because it asserts that all the creatures of God are vain, and regards them as nothing, and it gives the preference to eating and drinking and other transitory pleasures." *

Finally, it may be stated that the learned modern Jewish rabbis discard the Solomonic origin of Ecclesiastes. No learned rabbi of our time upholds it.

In passing from the Jews to the early Christians, we might call attention to the fact that Ecclesiastes is nowhere quoted in the New Testament. This might be explained as favoring the view that the canonicity of the book was an open question in the first century of our era; however, but little weight can be attached to this argument, for on the same grounds several other books would have to be rejected. The apostolic Fathers and their immediate successors are equally sparing in their references to Ecclesiastes. Not till the end of the third century does the book seem to attract much attention. From this time on, the leading Fathers often mention the book, and some have left commentaries upon it. And, we may add, that with rare exceptions they are united in ascribing it to Solomon. Thus Gregory Thaumaturgus, (d. A. D. 270,) in his paraphrase of Koheleth; and Gregory of Nyssa, (d. A. D. 396,) in his expositions; Jerome (d. A. D. 420) and Augustine (d. A. D. 430.)

^{*} Quoted by Stuart, "Commentary" on Ecclesiastes, sec. 6, p. 102.

The same might be said of Olympiodorus, in the early part of the sixth century. Yet there were individuals in the primitive centuries who did not regard the book as divine, and of course as not coming from the pen of Solomon. Thus Philastrius of Brescia (d. A. D. 387) speaks of heretics who rejected Solomon's Ecclesiastes, (Haer., 130,) * and according to Stuart, + both Philastrius and Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. A. D. 429) considered the book as uninspired because it savors of Epicureanism. The question must have been openly discussed in the sixth century, for A. D. 553 the Synod of Constantinople declared the book free from the charge of teaching Epicureanism. But beyond these few objectors, the great mass of authority, both Jewish and Christian, declares most decidedly and unequivocally for the Solomonic origin of Ecclesiastes: and were we compelled to form a verdict from the testimony of early writers, nothing could be done but, as impartial judges, to declare that Solomon was the author of Ecclesiastes.

Uniform, however, as this consensus is, amounting almost to the "Semper, ubique, et ab omnibus," which Vincent of Lerins made the test of Catholicity, it can scarcely be regarded as decisive. The faculty of historical criticism, and one might almost say, of intellectual discernment of the meaning and drift of a book or of individual passages in it, is, with rare exceptions, such as were Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, Dionysius of Alexandria, and Theodore of Mopsuestia, wanting in the long succession of the Christian Fathers, and no one can read the Targum or Midrash on Koheleth, or the comments of most of their successors, without feeling that he is in the company of those who have eyes and see not, and who seem to read between the lines, as patristic interpreters also do, meanings which could by no conceivable possibility have been present to the thoughts of the writer. It is true alike of all of them that they lived at too remote a date from that of the book of which they write for their opinions to have any weight as original evidence, and that they had no materials for forming such opinions other than those which are in our hand at the present day.1

The Middle Ages, as might be expected, afford no new light on this question. The few writers who wrote on Koheleth merely walk in the footsteps of their predecessors. The three

^{*} Hengstenberg, "Commentary," Introduction, p. 34.

⁺ Stuart, Introduction, p. 103.

[‡] Plumptre, "Cambridge Bible for Schools," Ecclesiastes, Introduction, p. 22 32—FOURTH SERIES, VOL. XXXVI.

leading commentators, Hugo of St. Victor in the twelfth century, Bonaventura in the thirteenth, and Nicolas de Lyra in the fourteenth, are firm in their declaration for Solomon.

With the great Reformation a new era came. Till then books were not studied in a critical spirit, philology and the philosophy of history were unknown sciences; so that the Dark Ages afforded no revelation in regard to our book is no cause of surprise. Ideas must not be rejected simply on account of their newness; much less, as is often the case by a certain class of reformers, on account of their great age. Neither are we under obligation to regard all questions as ultimately settled by our ancestors. If new light come, we should accept it and be thankful; if not, remain by the old. New discoveries are continually made, and no one deserves the name of teacher who is not willing to be surpassed by some brilliant disciple. It is needless to state that great revolutions have taken place since the Monk of Erfurt commenced to read and study the Holy Writ. It was reserved for Luther, who brought so much light into the religious and theological world, to call the attention of still more critical minds to some of the peculiarities of Ecclesiastes, and that, strange as it may seem, not in his commentary on Koheleth, where he accepts the Solomonic authorship, but in his "Table Talk," (Tisch-reden.) * He says: "Thus he" (Solomon) "did not himself write the Preacher, but it was composed by Sirach, at the time of the Maccabees. It is, however, a very good and agreeable book, because it contains much fine instruction in regard to the household. In addition, it is like a Talmud put together from many books, perhaps from the library of Ptolemy Euergetes, king of Egypt." Luther was not a commentator, but a reformer. We must, therefore, not be surprised that he does not more fully develop this new view.

So, in a sense, it is rightly claimed by most commentators that Hugo Grotius (1644) was the first to reject the Solomonic authorship, with any degree of reason and learning, upon purely scientific grounds. He was, as we see from the following, driven to it for philological reasons. "Yet," says he, "I do not consider it to be a work of Solomon, but to have been written later under the name of that king, who had been moved by penitence. My ground for this opinion is, that there are

^{*} Lange's "Bibelwerk," ed. 1867, "Der Prediger Salomo," Einleitung, p. 110.

many words in it which are not found elsewhere other than in Daniel, Ezra, and the Chaldean commentators." From his time there has been a gradual departure from the traditional view. And indeed it was not long till some of the more distinguished biblical critics adopted and developed the views of Grotius. The book was studied as never before; the language was put to the severest critical tests. Some, in their eagerness to overthrow the Solomonic authorship, were too hasty, and cited a great number of words and phrases which, according to them, were not in use till after the captivity; but on closer examination many of these supposed post-exilian words were found in the pre-exilian books. Others, again, completely disregarding every philological argument, held most tenaciously to the tradition of the fathers. But ever since the days of Grotius the number of this latter class has decreased in proportion to their critical acumen and appreciation of the laws relating to the history of language; so that, in our day, the preponderance of authority rejects the Solomonic authorship. Says a recent English writer: * "On the Continent, where biblical criticism has been cultivated to the highest degree, and where Old Testament exegesis has become an exact science, the attempt to prove that Solomon is not the author of Ecclesiastes would be viewed in the same light as adducing facts to demonstrate that the earth does not stand still." This would not apply with equal force to England or the United States, though some of the more distinguished scholars in both these countries are not less decided in their rejection of the Solomonic origin of Ecclesiastes. The same may be said of the Protestant theologians of France, whose views are perhaps expressed by Louis Segond in Lichtenberger.+

Ewald,‡ in his day the prince of Hebrew scholars, than whom no one could have been found of greater authority in Semitic philology and literature in all its branches, is pronounced against the traditional view, and claims that the book is among the latest ones of the Old Testament. He bases his opinion on the peculiarities of language, ideas, and the relation of Ecclesiastes to the older books. He goes so far as to claim that it differs

^{* &}quot;Encylopædia Britannica," art. "Ecclesiastes."

^{+ &}quot;Encyclo. des Sciences Religieuses," art. "Eccles."

t "Poetische Bücher," ed. 1837, vol. iv, p. 178.

more widely from the old Hebrew than any book in the Old Testament, and that it is a work of an author of whom we have nothing else in the Canon.

As far as we know, the first theologian in this country to accept the new criticism in regard to our book was the devout and erudite scholar, Prof. Moses Stuart, the father of biblical criticism in the United States. He discusses the question at great length in the learned introduction to his "Commentary on Ecclesiastes." His influence as an exegete has been very great, and it naturally follows that he has many admirers and followers. Whatever else may be said, one thing is absolutely certain, that no American was more capable of expressing an opinion upon the subject under discussion than the late Prof. Stuart.

It may be very appropriate in this place to ascertain, if possible, what stand Methodist commentators have taken upon the question. We as a Church are indebted to no one man more than to Dr. Adam Clarke, who in his day was not only the foremost of Wesleyan expositors, but also held a high rank among the learned biblical scholars of England. Hence it is befitting that we should first hear him. In his introduction to the Book of Ecclesiastes he writes as follows:

Of the authenticity of the Book of Ecclesiastes I have no doubt, but I must say, the language and style puzzle me not a little. Chaldaisms and Syriaisms are certainly frequent in it, and not a few Chaldee words and terminations; and the style is such as may be seen in those writers who lived at or after the Captivity. If these can be reconciled with the age of Solomon I have no objection; but the attempts that have been made to deny this, and overthrow the evidence, are in my view often trifling and generally ineffectual. That Solomon, son of David, might have been author of the whole matter of this, and a subsequent writer put it in his own language, is a possible case; and were this to be allowed, it would solve all difficulties. †

Dr. Harman is more decided and outspoken. These are his words: "We think there can be but little doubt that it is the latest book of the Canon, and could not have been written earlier than the time of Malachi; but in all probability it was written still later." ‡

^{*} Stuart's "Commentary" on Ecclesiastes, ed. 1864. Andover.

⁺ Clarke's "Commentary," Introduction to Ecclesiastes.

[†] Harman's "Introduction," third edition, p. 318,

The next American commentator of our own Church who has written on this subject is the Rev. A. B. Hyde, D.D. I refer to his "Ecclesiastes" in Whedon's "Commentary." From the introduction it would be difficult to find out his exact position in regard to the authorship of the book. He says: "This question of authorship must not be made too important."* But as we shall have occasion to call up Dr. Hyde in another place we may for the present dismiss him.

It would be very unfair not to mention here an article written by my dear friend and old professor, Dr. Strong, t where the question of authorship is ably discussed; the author evidently leans to the Solomonic origin. Notwithstanding the above citations from Drs. Clarke, Harman, and Hyde, which in some sense of the word may be classed as our "standards" on Koheleth, vet the great majority of Methodist ministers, the world over, have accepted the old rabbinical tradition (Midrash Yalkut, Eccl. i, 1) that Koheleth was written by Solomon toward the latter part of his days, Proverbs in middle age, and Canticles in his youth. This, though nothing more than a tradition, is generally accepted by the ordinary readers of Ecclesiastes, just as many good but not liberally educated Christians ascribe all the Psalms to David and all the Book of Proverbs to Solomon. Needless is it to say that no careful student, even of our English version of the Bible, could entertain such views of the origin of the Psalms and Proverbs. Yet so carelessly do many of us study the sacred books, and such is the power tradition exercises over us, that we are often loth to part with our dearly cherished, child-like ideas. In passing we might mention the deplorable fact that the Bible is not more thoroughly studied—its history, its canonicity, its present form, etc., etc.

But to enter more fully into our discussion, it might be said that the objections of critics to the Solomonic origin of Ecclesiastes may be divided into two principal classes:

I. THE LINGUISTIC PECULIARITIES.

II. THE SUBJECT-MATTER.

I. Let us, in the first place, try to put before the reader the argument drawn from the philological stand-point. We

^{*} Whedon's "Commentary," vol. vi, p. 484.

⁺ M'Clintock and Strong, "Cyclopædia," art. "Ecclesiastes."

readily admit the recent origin of the argument drawn from this quarter; nevertheless, the newness of an argument is no valid objection against it. It could not be otherwise; for, be it remembered, that philology is comparatively a modern science. The evidence drawn from this source will appear of little or of great weight according to the linguistic training of the reader. To some who are altogether unacquainted with the Hebrew lexicon and grammar, and who depend entirely upon the English Bible, it will be, I am afraid, as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal, not because there is no reality in the argument, but because they have no suitable training to ap-

preciate it.

Every language, no less than every nation, has its history. well-defined and more or less complete. New words and new forms are continually arising. How easy it is to trace many words back to their origin! The new edition of Webster's Dictionary has thousands of new words, and obsolete words are also very numerous. "One cometh and another passeth away," is the law written on all things. We need only call attention to our own language. Even the most careless cannot fail to see the difference between Wyclif and Wesley, between Chaucer and Shakespeare, or between Spenser and Tennyson. To a Hebrew scholar the variety of style and peculiarity of language is also very apparent in the different books of the Bible. This consideration justifies the conclusion that the Hebrew language has its history, capable, like all other studied languages, of being divided into periods. The most superficial student of Hebrew must admit that this language has at least two well-defined periods: the pre-exilian and the post-exilian. I am satisfied that the philological argument will have the least weight with those who have never studied our book in a critical manner. But whatever importance may be given to these verbal differences, they are certainly real, and must not be lightly passed over.

The style of Koheleth differs not only from the other acknowledged writings of Solomon, but from any thing else in the Old Testament, and for this the unique character of the subjects treated in the book will not sufficiently account. That portion of Proverbs written by Solomon is in fine, elegant, concise language, while Ecclesiastes for the most part is

full of repetition and irregularities. What is true of the style is in a greater degree true of the words and expressions used. Says the learned Hengstenberg: "Hand in hand with the evidence against Solomon, drawn from the historical circumstances of the work, goes that which is derived from peculiarities of style and language. These are undeniably not those of the time of Solomon, but of the later post-exile period." * Delitzsch, professor of Old Testament theology in the University of Leipsic, an Israelite by birth, a most ardent lover of Hebrew literature, both biblical and rabbinical, a most devout Christian. like Hengstenberg, quite orthodox, discussing this subject, says: "If the Book of Koheleth be of Solomonic origin, then there is no history to the Hebrew language."+ It would be very easy to add the testimony of the leading biblical critics, but this will suffice to call the attention of the reader to the validity of the philological objections urged against the Solomonic origin.

It is common for writers on Ecclesiastes to give a list, more or less complete, of words and expressions in the book which they consider as being later than the Solomonic age. These words may be divided into three classes:

1. Those which are only found in the later books, as in Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, or Daniel.

2. Those which are not found in any other of the books of the Bible, but simply in rabbinical literature.

3. Those found only in Ecclesiastes.

The fullest list, as far as I have seen, is that given by Professor Delitzsch in his commentary.

All commentators in our day, of whatever school of thought, willingly acknowledge that the language of Ecclesiastes is not only peculiar, but that it more closely resembles that of the writers after than before the exile. The attempts to explain these away have been various—certainly more various than successful. One of the most commonly adopted explanations is that already referred to above; namely, that the book was written toward the close of Solomon's life. This to them sufficiently accounts for the difference of style between Eccle-

^{* &}quot;Commentary on Ecclesiastes," Introduction, p. 9. † Ibid., p. 190.

[‡]Introduction, pp. 190-196. See also the Introduction to Stuart and Lange's Commentaries, and the article on Ecclesiastes in M'Clintock and Strong's "Cyclopædia."

siastes and his other writings. But what is there, besides the old Jewish tradition, in support of the theory that Ecclesiastes is the latest production of Solomon's pen? Would it be any easier to establish this than to prove that the book in its present form is of post-exilian origin? We think not. Rev. W. T. Bullock, M.A., readily adopts the above view, and finds sufficient confirmation from other authors, both ancient and modern. Says he: * "In our own language the style of Milton in his 'Ode on the Nativity,' written in his twenty-first year, differs widely from 'Samson Agonistes,' a product of his old age. In our own generation, there is a remarkable difference between the earlier prose style of Dean Milman and that of his 'History of Latin Christianity.'"

Others, again, like Dr. Cowles, dispose of Aramaisms and other linguistic peculiarities on the ground that Solomon had learned them from his intimacy with foreigners, "his wives and concubines, his political friends and his commercial acquaintances." They also adduce, as further explanation of these foreign terms, the supposition that the book was written especially for these foreigners; consequently, there could have been nothing more natural for Solomon than to use words and phrases which, though not pure Hebrew, yet were such as were perfectly familiar to those for whom the book was intended. This theory—for certainly it is nothing more—will not satisfy a critical mind. There is no evidence that the book was written for foreigners, for the outlandish women who flocked to the royal court at Jerusalem, or for the political allies of King Solomon. The sacred books of the Hebrews were not written for the heathen, but for the seed of Abraham. Dr. Tayler Lewis, though a stanch supporter of the Solomonic origin of Ecclesiastes, as may be seen in his appendix to the Introduction to Koheleth by Zöckler in Lange's "Commentary," is defending an almost hopeless cause. Read the following: "There may be allowed the idea of a later editor, or recensor, who may have added some of the short prose scholia by way of explanation, even as they were added to the Pentateuch—some few parenthetical insertions of the name Koheleth where it was deemed necessary more clearly to announce the speaker, and

^{# &}quot;Bible Commentary," Introduction to Ecclesiastes.

^{. + &}quot;Commentary" on Ecclesiastes, p. 220, ff.

perhaps some modernizations of the language, or the adaptation of it to a later period." * But where is the proof that the Jews thus tampered with their sacred books? The average reader will prefer to accept a later authorship, than a revised version of the original Solomonic work by a later hand.

Others claim that these verbal differences "ought to have but little weight in argument;" so little, indeed, "that small mention need be made of them." Dr. Hyde + limits these words to about ten, although Delitzsch, who wrote as late as 1875, finds more than ten times ten words or forms in some way peculiar to the book under consideration. But what if the number could be reduced to ten? If it can be proved that we have here ten words of later origin than Solomon's time, would not that suffice to disprove the Solomonic origin? Would a student of English in a thousand years from now hesitate to declare that a book containing any two of the following words. "gerrymander, bulldoze, telephone, class-meeting, cablegram, telegram, loot, or dude, could not have been written as early as the sixteenth century?" A skillful anatomist can tell by the careful examination of a single bone the kind, and as well the approximate size, of the animal. So also in philology. The age of a book is determined by the words and expressions used. Even one word has sometimes sufficed to explode great literary forgeries. Let one instance be given: "Some years ago a set of poems was published at Bristol purporting to have been written in very early times by a poet named Rowley. Literary controversy ran high about them; many persons believed in their genuineness; some do, even now. But the imposture, which was not easy to detect at the time, has been completely unmasked by the aid of a little word of three letters. The writer uses 'its' as the possessive case of the pronoun 'it' of the neuter gender. Now, this possessive 'its' was never so used in the early periods of our language; nor, indeed, as late down as the time of Elizabeth. It never occurs in the English version of the Bible, made in its present authorized form in the reign of James I. It is said, also, to occur only three times in Shakespeare, and once in 'Paradise Lost,' #

^{*} Lange's "Commentary," Appendix to Introduction, p. 29.

⁺ Whedon's "Commentary" on Ecclesiastes, p. 482.

Alford's "Queen's English," p. 7.

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Besides these words, there is another point especially worthy of mention, though not urged as conclusive; that is, the very frequent use of the shortened form of the relative pronoun, (שֵּי instead of אַמָּיִבְּי,) This shorter form, it is true, is occasionally used in the earlier books of the Bible, and also in the Phenician remains; but in the later books, as well as in the later Psalms, this form is very common. In Ecclesiastes it is found no less than sixty-eight times. The Talmud and other rabbinical writings, as well as modern Hebrew, use the shorter form almost exclusively. Again, in no other book of the Bible are the meanings given to this word in its various combinations so various as in Ecclesiastes.

There is also a difference in the use of the tenses, which students in their second year cannot fail to observe. The "vav conversive" is seldom used, and there is a noticeable preference given to the participal form of the verb.

Again, the author of Ecclesiastes, in speaking of the Divine Being, never uses the word "Jehovah," but always (thirty-nine times) Elohim. This is certainly a remarkable fact, and is regarded as of some weight in determining the authorship of the book. It is said that in the post-biblical period, the Jews, being restrained by a religious dread, scarcely ever used the word Jehovah. The use of Elohim does not necessarily point out a later age, but it certainly points out a difference of style, for in the Proverbs Solomon uses almost exclusively the word Jehovah; but why Solomon should use Jehovah so often in Proverbs, and abstain most carefully from its use in Koheleth, is not clear.

II. Objections based on other than linguistic grounds, that is, on the subject-matter, or the contents of the book.

Although objections to the Solomonic origin of Ecclesiastes were first based on purely philological grounds, yet in the course of time others of an entirely different nature were added to them. It could not be otherwise. The study of literature and history has been reduced and developed into an exact science. The literature of a people bears the impress of the age in which it was written. Not only do we find philological differences, but also difference in style, matter, and treatment. The influence may be political, religious, or philosophical. Says a modern writer: "The political influences

which act in the development and modification of literature are many and potent; and these, unlike the influence of race, differ more or less in every age. Their effect may, as a rule, be traced with the greatest facility; and the writers on whom they have produced no marked impressions are few indeed. Perhaps the most powerful influence of all is that exerted by the form of government, which results in material prosperity or social degradation. Unjust rule in France has produced greater popular misery than in any other country in Europe. As a consequence we find their literature studded over with the traces of this external suffering, and with the marks of a spirit of fiery impatience and revolt."

In a critical examination of Ecclesiastes it becomes evident that many things discussed in the book do not well suit the Solomonic era, and that many others could have scarcely come from the pen of the royal writer himself. A king would be the last to write such a book as we have before us.

The first objection under this head to which I wish to call attention is, the constant reference to tyranny and oppressive government. It runs like a stream from one end of the Governors and rulers of all grades ruthbook to the other. lessly trample under foot the dearest and most sacred rights. So great were these oppressions that, according to our author, death itself would be a release. It would not be an easy task to prove that such passages as are found here could have been written during one of the most peaceful and prosperous reigns of any of the Jewish kings. Whatever faults King Solomon may have had, the sacred chroniclers do not bring his tyranny, or that of his officers, into any such prominence as would warrant the bitter wailing of the author of Ecclesiastes. Take the following examples: "I saw under the sun the place of judgment, that wickedness was there; and the place of righteousness, that iniquity was there:" (iii, 16.) "So I returned, and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun: and behold the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of their oppressors there was power; but they had no comforter:" (iv. 1.) The repetition of the last clause makes it very emphatic in Hebrew. So glaring was the injustice, and so violent the oppression, practiced in

^{*}Van Laun, "History of French Literature," vol. i, p. 10.

the land during the time of the author, that he concludes that death is preferable to life. "Wherefore," continues he, "I praised the dead which are already dead, more than the living which are vet alive. Yea, better is he than both they, which hath not vet been, who hath not seen the evil work that is done under the sun," (iv, 2, 3.) It would be easy to multiply passages which seem very difficult to reconcile with the history of the reign of Solomon. They seem to be anachronistic, utterly inexplicable. "Folly is set in great dignity, and the rich sit in low places." "I have seen servants upon horses. and princes walking as servants upon the earth:" (x, 6, 7.) "Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child, and thy princes eat in the morning:" (x. 16.) On the other hand. when we compare the sentiments expressed in these verses to later times, when the poor Jews were oppressed by foreign officials, and when extortion and plunder was the order of the day, how like real history is our book! (Compare Esther iii, 1; Neh, ix, 36, 37.) The remarkable passage near the close of the book (x. 20) seems also to point most clearly to other times than those of Solomon. The author says: "Curse not the king, no, not in thy thought; and curse not the rich in thy bedchamber: for a bird of the air shall carry the voice, and that which hath wings shall tell the matter." The reference here is, beyond doubt, to the well-established system of espionage, which in ancient times stretched itself like a network over the empires of despotic kings. Espionage is always the index of a mean, corrupt, tyrannical, and pusillanimous despot, but never of a noble man. What is there in the history of Solomon corresponding of the sentiment expressed in this verse? latest Methodist commentator, Dr. Hyde, finds but little difficulty in reconciling the linguistic peculiarities of Ecclesiastes with the idea that it was written by Solomon; yet he fairly stumbles when he comes to the exposition of this passage. Listen to him: "As the general subject of discreet behavior in the trying times produced by bad rulers occupies so large a proportion of this brief book, we may, on dismissing it, again say that its moral weight as against the Solomonic authorship is very serious. The books of the Scripture, though written for all time, get their special form and matter from and for some particular time. So much of exhortation to patient

endurance under misgovernment could not possibly have been inspired by any thing known to have existed in the golden age of Solomon. But there was hardly a year in the interval between 450 B. C. and 330 B. C. when such wisdom of the serpent and harmlessness of the dove was not wanted in almost every province of the Persian empire." *

Let us next call attention to the skeptical questions discussed in the book. This ought to afford some help in determining the age in which it was written. In whatever light we regard these, or try to explain them, they are here. We may regard portions of this book as a dialogue between the author and some skeptical objector, or they may be the struggling of a soul for light, a mere mental dialogue, a style common to all languages.

If, then, it is true that we have in this book traces of skepticism, as already said, this ought to aid us in determining its age. Every age has its special topics. Authors write upon subjects claiming common attention, upon themes which are part and parcel of the every-day life of a people. It would not be natural in our day and country to devote great attention to evils and dangers which in no way threaten us. A treatise on the evils of American slavery, for instance, written in 1884, would be anachronistic and unnecessary; but fifty years ago nothing would have been more proper and timely. Slavery has been abolished, and now other topics claim our attention. The age of Solomon was eminently religious; divine manifestations were not infrequent; it was then that the temple was built, and that the religion of Jehovah pervaded the land. Solomon might have been guilty of idolatry, but where is the proof that he or any other leader of thought in his time was troubled with questions which in later ages developed into Sadduceeism? In reading the history of doctrine in the Christian Church we see that certain questions had special prominence in certain centuries: Gnosticism, in one age; Arianism, in another; and Pelagianism, in a third. So also in the Old Testament, in the ancient Jewish Church, there must have been something similar. The age of Solomon, as far as we have any means of judging, was not a skeptical one; therefore we are not prepared to admit that a book containing so many

^{*} Whedon's "Commentary" on Ecclesiastes, chap. x, 20.

questions respecting doubts of future life and God's moral government in this world could belong to his time. The question, "Who knoweth whether * the spirit of the sons of men goeth upward, and whether the spirit of a beast goeth downward to the earth?" (iii, 21,) although satisfactorily and in a most orthodox manner answered in xii, 7, suits the post-exilian time much better than that of Solomon—a time when the ancient landmarks were giving way, when even the seed of

Abraham were becoming rationalistic and skeptical.

Attention might be called to the fact that Malachi, which is considered the last book of the Canon, has in this and also other respects some similarity to Koheleth. The laxity described in regard to paying vows (v, 4, 5) which had been made, finds an exact counterpart in the description of the Church given by the prophet Malachi, but not in the time of Solomon, when the people manifested such love and generosity for the worship of Jehovah. The word הְּמֵלָאָן, angel, which evidently refers to the officiating priest who was to receive the offering which was vowed, is also found in Malachi ii, 7. Another point which ought not to be passed unnoticed is the fact, that this book, which is so generally ascribed to Solomon, does not even contain his name. The proper name of the anthor, whoever he may have been, is not given. In this particular it resembles the Epistle to the Hebrews. The author for some reason takes the assumed name Koheleth, which is variously translated, but which is well expressed by our English word Preacher. At first sight this may seem of little or of no importance: nevertheless, there must have been some reason for this fictitious name. We readily admit that there is passage after passage wherein the author describes himself, exactly such as Solomon would have written. Some passages seem to point to him directly and cannot bear any other interpretation; for example, He was son of David, king over Israel in Jerusalem: (i, 1, 12.) He made himself great works, builded himself houses, gathered himself silver and gold. He was great and increased more than all that were before him in Jerusalem, etc., etc.: (ii, 4-10.) We do not shut our eyes to

^{*}I take the hefore yeard and year to be the He interrogative, and not the article. So the LXX, Vulgate, Targum, Syriac, Arabic, Jerome, Luther, Stuart, Delitzsch, etc.

these passages, so strongly favoring the Solomonic origin of Ecclesiastes. Yet further on we propose a word of explanation. But, notwithstanding these, we might ask the question, If Solomon wrote this book, why did he write under the assumed title of Koheleth? Why in this book more than in Proverbs or Canticles?* In vain would it be to reply, as some have done, that he represents himself in our book not as a king but as a preacher, for that would apply equally well to the Proverbs. But before we dismiss this subject, let us call attention to the form of the word אָהֹלָה, (Koheleth.) Though feminine in form, it doubtless refers to a male. Men are often designated by the name (which may be feminine) of the office which they hold. We have examples of this usage not only in the Semitic or Oriental languages, but also in some of the Indo-European, as in German and French.+ We often find it in Chaldee and Arabic, and it was not unusual in later Hebrew to designate men by the office which they held, or by their trade. Take the feminine word הַּחָבּ, (pascha,) a word, according to Fürst, t which was transplanted into Hebrew by early Assyrian influence, and which stands in the later written books. Compare also the forms Sophereth (Ezra ii, 55, Neh. vii, 57) and Pochereth, (Ezra ii, 57, Neh. vii, 59,) which show that such formations were in use in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. This usage of coining feminine nouns for the name of men is carried still further in the Mischna. § Thus we see that the very title of the book speaks loudly in favor of a post-exilian origin.

In discussing the authorship of Ecclesiastes, commentators always call attention to the verb הַּיִּיִים: (i, 12.) It is the preterit form. "I, Koheleth, was king over Israel in Jerusalem." The preterit tense in this verse, and the vav conversive with the future in the following, point to time already past. "At least that is the common way in which these forms are used. If the writer had wished to refer to the present, he could have either used the participial form or else omitted the verb altogether. Thus, then, we are at once necessitated to

^{*} See Prov. i, 1; Solomon's Song i, 1.

⁺ Stuart's "Commentary" on Ecclesiastes, chap. i, 1.

^{# &}quot;Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon," מחה.

[§] See various examples in Delitzsch's "Commentary" on Ecclesiastes, p. 204.

For an able discussion, see Delitzsch's "Commentary," pp. 205, ff.

suppose that at the writing of this book Solomon had ceased to be king, had abdicated. And that is the way the ancient Jewish commentators understood and explained the passage. In the Targum or paraphrase of Koheleth we have the following comment on the verse, (i, 12:) "When king Solomon was sitting upon the throne of his kingdom, his heart became very proud of his riches, and he transgressed the word of God, and he gathered many horses and chariots, and riders, and he amassed much gold and silver, and he married from foreign nations; whereupon the anger of the Lord was kindled against him, and he sent to him Ashmodai, the king of the demons, who drove him from the throne of his kingdom, and took away the ring from his hand in order that he should wander about the world to reprove it, and he went about in the provincial towns and cities of the land of Israel, weeping and lamenting, and saying, I am Koheleth, whose name was formerly called Solomon, who was king over Israel in Jerusalem." This legend, childish as it is, proves one thing most conclusively, namely, that the preterit form of the verb was a real stumbling block to the ancient expositors, who invented it. The most eminent Hebrew scholars, such as Stuart, Ewald, and Delitzsch, agree that it must refer to a past time. Mr. Bullock, in his comment on this verse, finds a parallel case in Louis XIV.,* who, toward the end of his days, gave up all earthly interests in order to think only of God, and who at that time was often heard to exclaim, "When I was king!" This needs no refutation, for there is a great difference between a whole book well written and the mere exclamation of an old ruler ready to die.

Those who accept the traditional view often claim that Ecclesiastes is a book containing the confession of King Solomon. To them it is a satisfactory evidence that the wise king, toward the close of life, "repented of his unholy practices and licentious principles." † It is needless to inform the reader that there is not a single word in the Holy Writ to corroborate this view, so commonly held. We have not a single sentence pointing to the repentance of Solomon. Said a learned man

^{* &}quot;Nouvelle Biographie Generale," xxxi, 834, quoted by Bullock, "Commentary" on Ecclesiastes, p. 623.

⁺ Angus, "Bible Hand-book," p. 512.

to me a few days ago: "Brother, deny the Solomonic origin of Ecclesiastes, and Solomon is lost." But, were it well established that Solomon wrote this book, what is there to show that he wrote it in his old age, after he had sinned and lost the favor of God? Nothing more than an old rabbinical tradition. But had we proof conclusive—which we are far from admitting -that he is the author, there is absolutely nothing in the book to prove that he repented. None but a prejudiced mind can see confession in any portion of it. It is rather the work of an experimenter who becomes utterly disgusted with the world and its vanities, than the sincere confession of one who had sinned against God. If it were a confession, we might expect some explicit reference to some former sins by which the author had been led away from Jehovah, something similar to the fifty-first Psalm. But there is nothing of that in the book before us. Ecclesiastes is certainly more of a philosophical treatise than the humble confession of a penitent sinner. Had we a confession from the royal ruler, we might find some similarity between it and the beautiful prayer uttered by him at the dedication of the temple. If Koheleth be the confession of Solomon, the confession has been omitted, and some valuable exhortation has been substituted. Now, what were the chief sins of Solomon? They were, (1) alliance with the heathen; (2) loving many strange women; and (3) turning away his heart after other gods. 1 Kings xi, 1-8. These three sins were to the pious Jews of the most grievous kind, and they are constantly condemned by the prophets. In the Old Testament no sin is denounced so much and so often as that of idolatry. It seems to be the sad key-note of the earlier prophets. Then, if idolatry were the chief sin of Solomon, and were such an eye-sore to the pious Jew, why is there not some mention made of it in our book? Not only is there no command to abstain from it, nor any thing like the sad strains of a penitent confessing his participation therein—there is not even any reference to it in any way whatever. The same may be said in regard to the other two sins above mentioned. We, then, confess our inability to see any thing in Ecclesiastes resembling a confession. Let those, then, who have been accustomed to regard this book as proving the final repentance of Solomon remember that there are some valid objections against 33-FOURTH SERIES, VOL. XXXVI.

their theory. Let them not be too loud in condemnation of our views; for what they themselves regard as settled truths may become on more careful examination at best but hypotheses. If Solomon did repent, there is no record of it in Ecclesiastes. The book could not have been written in his old age, else some reference to idolatry and the evils of polygamy would have been made. If he did not write it in the latter part of his life, then the most ancient tradition ascribing its authorship to Solomon becomes worthless, and certainly leaves grounds for other views.

One more objection of some weight is, the fact that no mention is made of this most important book in 1 Kings iv, 32, 33, where a list of Solomon's works is given.

Perhaps none of these arguments, taken singly and alone, will appear of much weight; but certainly, when brought together, and viewed in one connected chain, our position in regard to the authorship of Ecclesiastes is any thing but weak.

As already stated, there are certain passages in the book which clearly point to Solomon as the author; this explains why supporters of the Solomonic origin have been so many and so positive. But in conclusion let me ask, What objection can there be to believe that the author, whoever he may have been, adopted a personated authorship? That he makes Solomon the main character in the book, and through him utters his own words and ideas? The same as Socrates in the Krito of Plato, or Faust in the masterpiece of Goethe, or other characters in the fictitious and dramatic works of both ancient and modern writers. This is done in compositions of this sort without any idea of deception or imposture. "A dramatic personation of character has, at all times, been looked upon as a legitimate form of authorship, not necessarily involving any animus decipiendi. . . . If dramatic personation be, in all times and countries, a legitimate method of instruction, there is no a priori ground against the employment of that method by the manifold and very varied wisdom (Eph. iii, 10) of the Eternal Spirit." If this view of personated authorship is admissible and compatible with inspiration, then it is morally certain that Solomon did not write Ecclesiastes.

ART. VII.—WILLIAMS'S "MIDDLE KINGDOM."

OF this well-known work on China, issued by Putnam in 1848, revised by the author, and re-issued by the Scribners in 1883, the reading public will require something more than a passing notice editorial. The recent demise of the writer makes it appropriate to preface a review of his book with brief notices of his life and labors. This most distinguished lay missionary of the century, late professor of Chinese in Yale College, passed to his final rest on Saturday, February 16, at 8:40 P.M. in the City of Elms, full of years, honors, and usefulness. It is seldom that any man is privileged to bring his lifelabors to a rounded close. Most men are surprised by the last summons with some unfinished piece of work in hand. Six years ago, February 6, 1878, Dr. Williams said, in a note to the writer: "I am using my imperfect eye-sight to revise 'The Middle Kingdom.' This job of work seems to be about as useful as any I can undertake." Here we have the key to his every undertaking. During fifty years of active life he had always some "job of work" on hand that looked toward the "useful." Inutility was incompatible with his earnest nature. A severe fall, a dislocated shoulder, and paralysis came as premonitory warnings. April 16, 1883, he writes again: "In March last year I had a partial paralysis of brain, from which I am slowly recovering. My son has revised the copy of 'The Middle Kingdom,' which, fortunately, was almost ready for the press. I have no expectation of doing any thing more after the book is out." It was his last work. The last touch was given to the preface in July. It was on the book-sellers' shelves in October, and at the time of the brief notice of it in the January "Quarterly" the venerable writer was in his final decline.

Two of the numerous pen-works of this diligent book-maker are specially monumental, and will long remain as proofs of native and acquired ability combined with rare opportunities. They are "The Middle Kingdom," and an "Anglo-Chinese Dictionary:" the one a wide survey of the Chinese Empire from the earliest times to the present, for the English reader; the other a much-needed help to the increasing number of students

of the Chinese language. How came he by the ability to prepare works so widely differing? Something may have been due to the fact that he belonged to one of the most prolific of the book-making tribes of the English race. Aside from the omnipresent and scarcely numerable Smiths, the Williamses are only second or third in the numbers sent by any one of the Anglo-Saxon gens into the fields of literature and authorship. For personal qualifications he was indebted to fortunate birth, solid education, and favorable surroundings. His father, William Williams, was a prominent citizen of Utica, engaged in the book and publishing business in one of the largest establishments west of Albany, a leading man in all benevolent enterprises, and an elder in the First Presbyterian Church. His eldest son, Samuel Wells, (S. Wells he always wrote it, after the family name of his mother, Sophia Wells,) was born in Utica, September 22, 1812. The pious and devoted mother silently dedicated her first-born to the cause of foreign missions. For the reason we have not far to seek. Carey, Ward, and Marshman, pioneers in India, had been heard of in the religious journals of America; Morrison had sailed for China from England by the way of New York, because the jealous East India Company refused him passage in their ships. The quintet of devoted Andover students,* graduates of Harvard, Williams, Brown, and Union respectively, had created a Board of Foreign Missions by their enthusiasm, and in February, 1812, with a quintet of brave wives, had stirred the soul of the American Church to its holiest depths by embarking, in the slow-sailing ships of the period, for an India that seemed as far off and shadowy as it had done to the mariners of Columbus three hundred and twenty years before.

Brought up in the purlieus of a printing-office, what more natural than that Wells should be a printer, familiar from boyhood with all the mysteries of type-setting and all the details of book publishing. All his works show the results of this initial training. Rudimentary studies were pursued in academy and high school. To his pious parents the cause of missions was particularly dear, and their children were reared to love and respect the work. In 1820, when Wells was eight years old, a young man, James Garrett, connected with his father's

^{*} Newell, Hall, Rice, Judson, Nott.

printing-office, was sent to Ceylon as missionary printer, an event which made a deep and lasting impression on his childmind. Converted and brought into the Church in 1831, his father was disposed to send him to college, but inclination for the natural sciences decided him to go to the Rensselaer Institute, Troy, under the care of the distinguished scientific specialist Amos Eaton, for whose botanical manual, published in 1833, young Williams wrote out the derivations. In April, 1832, he received an invitation to go to China as printer to the American Board Mission, deliberated on it for a single night, and accepted; spent a year at home in study and mechanical preparation, and in mid-June, 1833, sailed from New York in the ship "Morrison," reaching Whampoa, the anchorage-ground for the city of Canton, on the 25th of October following. In his passage up the Pearl River, ten or twelve miles, he took his first lessons in a language that was to become as familiar to him as his native tongue, lessons given gratis by the brawling, shouting, yelling, swearing boatmen, as he threaded his way through the crowded fleets of lorchas, lighters, junks, flowerboats, police boats, and sampans that make up the noisy babel so delightful to ears Oriental. Thus, at the first blush of dawning manhood, Wells Williams took his station on the remotest frontier of the foreign field, the most unpromising in the wide world, a simple printer, without collegiate, theological, or medical education, to become, through his own industry, the eminent "self-educated" author of works that should enlighten the Christian world and smooth the pathway of the hundreds who should come after.

At his advent all things were as they had been for a century. China was a sealed country. The three immortal pioneer missionaries, Messrs. Morrison, (1807,) Milne, (1813,) Medhurst, (1817,) and a score of successors, unable to penetrate the barrier, had expended their forces on the emigrant overflow of the Malayan Archipelago. The first American in the field, Elijah C. Bridgman, (1830,) could do no more at Canton than Morrison, the first Englishman, had done twenty-three years before. He could neither teach nor preach. He could only, in a sort of stealthy way, print books for circulation. In 1832 New York sent him a press, and in 1833 an enthusiastic young printer, well versed in his art. Missionary effort of every kind was

opposed and restrained by three hostile forces, the native authorities, the narrow East India Company, and the Romish priests at Portuguese Macao. In 1834 the monopolizing Company was dissolved, and the great and good Dr. Morrison died. that time Bridgman and Williams were the only missionaries left on Chinese soil. The Chinese Christian Church had, as yet, no being. Books, teachers, translations, and the printingoffice were the only resort of this brace of lonely workers. To these they were shut up, and, of these, during the ten years that intervened before the opening of the treaty ports, they made diligent use. With his new printing-press, in 1832, the indefatigable Bridgman began a monthly called the "Chinese Repository," of which he and Williams were co-editors till its winding up with the twentieth volume in 1851. In 1835-36, Williams spent seventeen months at Macao, completing Medhurst's Hak-ke-en Dictionary, his first, but by no means his last, work in the lexicon line. As a pleasant change to four years of solitary routine he was invited, in 1837, to go in the American ship "Morrison"—the property of the benevolent patrons of missions, Messrs. Olyphant & Co.—to the Loo Choo Islands and Japan, to return some shipwrecked natives to their own country. The expedition was unsuccessful. benevolent mission was neither understood nor appreciated. The jealous natives fired upon the vessel at each of the four ports she attempted to enter. After an absence of ten months the ship returned, and the wrecked sailors were put to work, for their own support, in the printing-office of the mission. The ever-active mind of Williams seized the opportunity to learn their language, and between 1839 and 1841 he made, by their aid, an imperfect translation of Genesis and Matthew into Japanese. Between 1837 and 1844 he completed a useful manual, "Easy Lessons in Chinese," for beginners; assisted Bridgman in the preparation of his "Chrestomathy," another useful hand-book for beginners; edited the second edition of the younger Morrison's "Commercial Guide," an invaluable repertory of facts for merchants and ship-masters, and published a vocabulary in English and Chinese, which the writer found exceedingly helpful, notwithstanding its provincial syllabary, -that of the Canton dialect.

Mr. Williams was, of course, at the very center of the opium

conflict between the English and Chinese, from the stoppage of the trade on account of the pernicious drug in 1834, to the first conquest of the latter by the former in 1842; chronicled all the events of the war-1841-2-and preserved all its important papers and dispatches, both in English and Chinese, in the columns of the "Repository." In 1844, when a new order of things had been established, when Portuguese Macao had been substituted by British Hong-Kong, and when missionaries had begun to flow freely into each of the newly opened ports, Mr. Williams accepted an invitation, tendered him by the patron to whom he had dedicated his book, Gideon Nye, Jr., to make an overland passage, by way of Egypt, Palestine, and Europe, to his native land. After an interesting visit to the Holy Land, the Nile, Italy, and Paris, (where he purchased many useful works on China,) he sailed from England to the United States, arriving in New York, October, 1845. At that period great interest had been aroused by the recent wars in China, of which he availed himself by delivering a course of lectures on China, the proceeds of which were devoted to the purchase of a font of Chinese metallic type cast for the mission in Berlin, Germany. These lectures grew to volumes, and at the suggestion of friends, and by their munificent aid, he wrote out and published the first edition of "The Middle Kingdom." (New York, 1848.)

On November 27, 1847, at the mature age of thirty-five, Mr. Williams married, at Plattsburg, the eldest daughter of John Walworth, brother of Chancellor Reuben H. Walworth, by whose nomination the author of "The Middle Kingdom" was made honorary Doctor of Laws by Union College in 1848. They sailed for China on June 1, 1848, and arrived in Canton in September following. In 1851 he brought back the printing-office to Canton, wound up the "Repository," and commenced the publication of his "Tonic Dictionary of the Canton Dialect," the product of eight years' labor, a manual which the writer of this article found very useful, though hampered by a syllabic dress foreign to the Foochow dialect.

In 1853, he was invited to accompany as interpreter Commodore Perry in his expedition to open Japan, returning in August, 1854, to carry his Dictionary through the press and publish a fourth edition of the "Commercial Guide," a manual

which has reached a sixth edition, and is still of inestimable value.

In September, 1855, after twenty-two years' connection with the missionary work, Dr. Williams followed the example of Morrison and Gütslaff, and accepted a secular position, that of secretary and interpreter to the American Legation in China, an office which he held for the next twenty-one years—years the most eventful of any in the history of the Chinese Empire. During his official relation he twice visited the United States, in 1860 and 1875. Unable to be quiet, in the intervals of official duty he compiled, in eleven years, an "Anglo-Chinese Dictionary," published in 1874. In 1876, after a residence of forty-three years in China, he resigned and returned to his native land, to accept the professorship of Chinese in Yale in 1877, and to be made President of the American Bible Society in 1882—a merited compliment to one who had done so much for the circulation of the Scriptures in heathen lands.

"THE MIDDLE KINGDOM."

To the preparation of his survey of China, its social life and institutions, Mr. Williams brought twelve years of study and intercourse with the Chinese on their own soil; to the revisal he brought the accumulated material of over forty years' intimate acquaintance with the empire from Hong-Kong to the Great Wall. Without the power of judicious discrimination and selection, profusion of knowledge may be a hinderance rather than a help to a writer. Doolittle's "China" is tediously inventorial in its minuteness. Ten years of itemized experiences of his residence at Foochow were far less interesting to the general reader than a rapid twenty-page sketch of a few weeks' visit to Pekin. Nevertheless, his information, "detailed and reliable," had the advantage that a local history has over a general account, which is apt to become vague and barren as it grows in extent and volume. Dr. Williams deprecates the necessity of condensing so much into such confined space, and says, "Future writers will, I am convinced, after the manner of Richtofen, Yule, Legge, and others, confine themselves to single or cognate subjects rather than attempt such a comprehensive synopsis as is here presented." Edkins says truly, in the introduction to his "Religion in China," "There

have been many books written in that country with a chapter on each thing. It is this that renders them unsatisfactory to those who seek information on some particular subject." Shoals of works of the "My First Impressions" and "What I Saw" order have appeared during the century from the attachés of embassies, consular officials, army officers, transient travelers, who wrote up China from what they "saw" in a cart-ride from Tientsin to Pekin, a boat-trip on the Woo-Sung at Shanghai, a ride in a sedan-chair through the streets of Foochow, or a week or two among the merchants at Canton or Hong-Kong.

Doolittle alludes to a common vice of writers, that of generalizing from particulars; inferring the character of a whole people from that of special localities; affirming in general terms of the Chinese, as a nation, what is true only of the people in the part of the country where the writer made his observation: as if one were to describe as general and European every thing he saw in Italy, when he had seen no other nation of that continent but the Italian. Until within the last forty years the only point of contact with the nation was Canton, and that on the verge of the river-bank outside of the city. The Cantonese differ from the Fo-Kienese and Pekinese, in language and local customs, as much as Italians differ from Spanish,

or French from Spanish and Portuguese.

Book-knowledge of the Celestial Empire has steadily drifted westward from the days of Marco Polo, Sir John Mandeville, and the Jesuit fathers. Native authors are as voluminous as the German to those who can read them. The resources of the author of "The Middle Kingdom" were ample, and increased a hundred-fold after the opening of the empire, and especially by residence at the capital. The only adverse criticism we recollect to have seen was that of the "London Athenæum," in 1848: "These volumes have little that is novel in them "-a backhanded compliment to the wider knowledge of the self-complacent critic, who is nothing if he cannot claim superiority in the line of the work he reviews. It has been the pleasant occupation of some idle hours to compare the revised and original editions of this work of Dr. Williams. The two lie on different sides of the dividing zone between the old order of things and the new. The events of a generation have sufficed to antiquate the original edition of "The Middle Kingdom," and to make it read like a Staunton and Barrow commemoration of the M'Cartney expedition of the last century.

In 1833, with no hint of Professor Maury, the "Morrison" rolled leisurely over the seas with the average speed of a canal boat, five miles an hour, making the voyage from New York to Canton in a hundred and thirty-two days. Quarter of a century later, Liverpool clippers, formed for swiftness and schooled by wind and current charts and sailing directions, bowled over oceans at the rate of five leagues per hour, to and from the Australian gold fields. Each was a type of its own times, one related to the loitering stage-coach, the other to the

lightning express.

In 1844, Williams coasted along Southern Asia to Bombay in a sailing vessel. The magnificent line of the Peninsular and Oriental steamers was not yet. In 1848, our ocean navigation, telegraphy, and photography were in their infancy. Most of the social events that have re-created America, remolded the policies and theologies of every European State, sent gleams of light athwart Africa from Cape Colony and the Congo to the desert and pyramids, that have stirred Asia out of the lethargy of ages from the Levant to the Yellow Sea, and forced the unwilling millions of India, China, and Japan into the mighty march of modern thought and progress, have happened since the first volume of "The Middle Kingdom" was given to the world. It was needful that the revise should reflect all these wonderful changes.

The opening chapters, on the geography of the empire, needed little alteration. The physical features and civil boundaries of the land remain much as they were when the Jesuits made their ten years' survey (1708 to 1718) and presented their completed map to the emperor. For coast surveys the Chinese are indebted to foreign hydrographers, chiefly to Horsburgh, in the employ of the East India Company at the commencement of the century, and later, to Captain Collinson, of the Royal Navy of Great Britain. Heathenism erects no light-houses, and the eastern seas have been largely charted by the wrecks that have become at once expensive and mournful beacons of concealed coral ledges. In 1848, Williams's description of that wonder of the world, the Great Wall, north of Pekin, was written from books and hearsay. In the revised

edition he describes from what he has seen. On page 30, vol. i, we read:

The impression left upon the mind of the foreigner on seeing this monument of human toil and unremunerative outlay is respect for a people that could in any manner build it. Standing on the peak at Old North Gate, one sees the cloud-capped towers extending away over the declivities in single file both east and west, until dwarfed by miles and miles of skyward perspective as they dwindle into minute piles, yet stand with solemn stillness where they were stationed twenty centuries ago, as though condemned to wait the march of time till their builders returned. The crumbling dike at their feet may be followed, winding, leaping across gorges, defiles, and steeps, now buried in some chasm, now scaling the cliffs and slopes, in very exuberance of power and wantonness, as it vanishes in a thin shadowy line at the horizon. Once seen, the Great Wall of China can never be forgotten-

The full description of the capital, Pekin, is enlarged from fifteen pages to twenty-two, many passages entirely re-written, others inserted, and the whole enriched by the addition of two fine engravings—a Lamaistic monument, and one of the gates of the city surmounted by frowning watch-towers. The notice of the emperor's beautiful Summer Palace is supplemented with the remark, "But all this was swept away by the British and French troops in 1860, and the ruins still remain to irritate the officials and people of Pekin against all foreigners."

The description of the celebrated porcelain tower of Nankin, which the Tai-pings blew up and razed to the ground in 1856, is re-written, partly omitted and substituted by the account given by Dr. Charles Taylor, an American missionary who visited the structure in 1852, and left a full account of his observations, to be found in his "Five Years in China," issued by the Southern Methodist Publishing House, (Nashville, 1860.)

It was to have been raised to an altitude of 329 feet and of thirteen stories, but only nine were built. Careful measurement gave 261 feet as its height, 8½ feet thickness at top and 12 feet at base, where it was 96 feet and 10 inches in diameter. The facing was of bricks made of porcelain clay, and the prevailing color green, the wood-work curiously carved and richly painted, the many-colored tiles and bricks highly glazed, giving the building a gay and beautiful appearance, greatly heightened in reflected sunlight. When new it had 150 bells and 140 lamps. The wanton destruction of a building like this goes far to explain the absence of all old or great edifices in China.—Vol. i, p. 103.

The description of the commercial city Canton is much fuller than was possible in 1848. One of the most interesting of the newly inserted passages relates to the celebrated Examination Hall:

Similar in size and arrangement to those in other cities, it is 1,330 feet long, 583 wide, and covers over 16 acres. The total number of cells is 8,653. Each cell (designed to isolate a single examinee) is 5 ft. 9 in. deep by 3 ft. 8 in. wide; grooves in the wall admit a plank or two for a seat and table by day and a bed by night. Halls, courts, lodging-rooms, and eating-houses of the examiners with their assistants and copyists, with thousands of waiters, printers, underlings, and soldiers. At the biennial examnation the total number of students and attendants in the hall reaches nearly 12,000 men.—Vol. i, pp. 166, 167.

At page 551, vol. i, may be seen a view of a pictured section of the Examination Hall at Pekin, which is similar in construction to those at Foochow, Canton, and all the provincial capitals. Vol. ii, p. 523, presents the reader with a fine view of the wall of Canton, from a point of view which the writer reached in 1861, but which no foreigner had ever seen till the final occupation of the city by the combined French and English forces at the beginning of 1858. Hong-Kong, which in 1845 had 25,000 inhabitants, now has 130,000, a large proportion of whom are Chinese.

The chapter relating to census and statistics is not greatly changed. In 1881, the Chinese Customs' Reports gave the population at 380,000,000. Owing to the author's predilection for natural sciences, his sixth chapter, on the "Natural History of China," was peculiarly full and interesting in the first edition. We are not surprised, however, to read in his preface, page x:

Foreign students of natural history have, by their researches in every department, furnished material for more extensive and precise description than could possibly have been gathered two score of years ago. The sixth chapter has, therefore, been almost wholly re-written, and embraces as complete a summary of this wide field as space would allow or the general reader tolerate. The specialist will recognize the fact that this rapid glance serves rather to indicate how immense and how imperfectly explored is this department, than to describe what is now known.

Fifty-six pages in the former work are increased to eightyfour in the new edition, and this section is enriched by some choice specimens of landscape scenery that show that the photographer has been abroad.

In so staid a government as China there is not to be anticipated any such changes in laws and their administration as can be effected by almost any legislative body in this uneasy country, or by any session of Congress or Assembly, and hence the alterations in these two chapters do not go beyond a few omissions and additions.

Chapter IX, devoted to schools, books, teachers, studies, competitive examinations, and literary degrees, is an attractive one. School-books—the books first put into the hands of children and youth—exert such a powerful influence in the formation of character that the author felt impelled to devote ten pages in both old and new edition to the discussion of six elementary works of this description. Having no alphabet, the beginner's first work is to learn, by sheer force of memory, some thousands of separate characters, each of which is a word of one syllable, that may become a part of a compound word when two or three of them are strung together to form a compound word, as fire-wheel-ship, steam-boat; self-come-fire, friction match; united-people-country, United States. These word characters, arranged in vertical columns, reading downward, and commencing at the right, where we leave off, are totally destitute of inflection. A familiar story lesson of our old Webster spelling-book would be arranged, trimetrically, as follows. Begin at the right:

quick	grass	old	pelt	old	say	on	one
come	no	man	him	man	come	he	old
down	good	say	grass	say	down	tree	man
beg	pelt	word	make	fetch	chap	steal	find
man	he	no	chap	you	say	he	rude
pardon	stone	good	laugh	down	wont	fruit	boy

Such is the arrangement of the initial learn book, called "The Three Character Classic," which begins with the nature of man and the necessity and modes of education, instead of the simple fables and stories put into the hands of western children. Filial and practical duties are inculcated by precept and example, followed by a synopsis of the various branches of learning, after the favorite Chinese fashion of numerical series,

three powers, four seasons, five virtues, seven passions, ten social duties. Book two is "The Hundred Surnames," a list of the family or clan names in common use in the empire. "Of eighty-three common words pronounced 'ke' only six are clan names, and so it is necessary to have these very familiar in the common intercourse of life." Hence the importance of their early study. The third is "The Thousand Character Classic," of which no two characters are alike in form or meaning. What a tax on the infant memory! The fourth is "Odes for Children."

It is of the utmost importance to educate children; Do not say that your families are poor, For those who can handle well the pencil, Go where they will, need never ask for favors.

A passage for the sea has been cut through mountains, And stones have been melted to repair the heavens: In all the world there is nothing that is impossible; It is the head of man alone that is wanting resolution.

The fifth is "Canons of Filial Duty," a record of conversation between Confucius and a disciple on the principles of filial piety, a theme on which Chinese writers are forever harping. The sixth school-book is the "Juvenile Instructor," which treats of the first principles of education; duties owed to selves and kindred; wise sayings of eminent men, wise maxims, and eminent examples.

The great influence which these six school-books have had is owing to their formative power on youthful minds. A large proportion of youth never go beyond them, for want of time, means, or desire. They are really here furnished with the kernel of their best literature.

On the Chinese system of competitive examinations for literary honors, where a youth graduates to what roughly corresponds to our A.B. in his own county, a subsection like one of our congressional districts; A.M. at the provincial or State capital, at the severe triennial examination; and LL.D. at the national capital, Dr. Williams submits a few notes, characterized by the discernment that pervades all his selections. We append a few scattered extracts:

Not one in a score of graduates ever obtains an office; not one in a hundred of competitors ever gets a degree; but they all

belong to the literary class and share in its influence, dignity, and privileges. These unemployed literati form a powerful middle class, whose members advise work-people who have no time to study, and aid their rulers in the management of local affairs. This class has no badge of rank, and is open to every man's highest talent and efforts. Talent, wealth, learning, influence, all have full scope for their greatest efforts in securing the prizes. If these prizes had been held by a tenure as slippery as they are at present in the American Republic, or obtainable only by canvassing popular votes, the system would surely have failed, for "the game would not have been worth the candle."

Chinese institutions of learning have opened the avenues of rank to all, by teaching candidates how to maintain the principles of liberty and equality. All these institutions need, to secure and promote the highest welfare of the people, is faithful execution in every department of government. The Chinese seem to have attained the great ends of human government in as high a degree as it is possible for man to go without the aids of revelation. Its truths, its rewards, its hopes, and its stimulus to good acts are yet to be received among them. The course and results of the struggle between the old and the new in the land of Sinim will form a remarkable chapter in the history of man.

The chapter on "Language" is probably as little altered as any in the new book. One of the most copious languages in the world to the eye, Chinese is one of the most meager to the ear. The following English sentence will illustrate it: "Wright—write rite right"—a complete sense to the eye, but conveying no idea to the ear, but a meaningless repetition of the same word. The sameness of sound to the ear is carried to a fearfully perplexing extent in Chinese. The number of separate syllables is exceedingly limited. The entire number of vocables in any dialect as modified by initials, finals, and tones amount only to a few hundreds. But

this paucity of vocables or monosyllabic words is largely compensated in the spoken dialects by the very frequent union of two or more words, virtually forming polysyllables, to express simple ideas. Thus the number of words is increased to several thousands, which give the Chinese language a richness and variety of expression but little, if any, inferior to that of alphabetic languages.

In the Foochow dialect forty-six characters are called Ching, fifty Ping, sixty Ling, seventy Sing, seventy-five Ing, samples of what obtains throughout this dialect and all others of this curious language. While the acquisition of such a world of

written characters (44,400 in Kanghi's Dictionary) is the work of laborious years for the eye and memory, the vocal language is easy of acquisition. The Fo-ke-en tongue has about twentyfive sounds in its vocalization where the English has forty, none so hard as our guttural g, or aspirated th, which Europeans, and even our own native-born negroes, change to d. The learner in Chinese has to master the German ü, the French ieu, the initial ng, and the tones on the correct use of which the meaning of words and sentences so much depends. In learning English, Chinese organs find it difficult to curl themselves about the r for which they universally substitute lin the jargon that is called Pigeon English, used in trade at Canton, to which Dr. Williams makes repeated reference in his volumes. Not stopping to acquire the Chinese, and impatient of teaching the natives correct speech, the necessities of trade for two hundred years have created a barbarous jargon or lingo, which, comically enough, the Chinese suppose to be good English till better instructed. Curious specimens of this gibberish are found at page 832 of volume i and 402 of volume ii. The interested reader will find Longfellow's "Excelsior" in extenso in this droll "chow-chow" in General Rusling's "Across America," page 302. Dr. Williams concludes the chapter with some sensible remarks, page 25:

A knowledge of the Chinese language is a passport to the confidence of the people, and when foreigners generally learn it the natives will begin to divest themselves of their prejudices and contempt. As an inducement to this study, the scholar and philanthropist have the prospect of benefiting and informing, through it, vast numbers of their fellow-men; of imparting to them that which will elevate their minds, purify their hearts, instruct their understandings, and at the same time make them acquainted with the discoveries in science, medicine, and arts among western nations.

Consul Medhurst, in his "Foreigner in Far-Kathay," thinks the Protestant missionaries have made a mistake in confining their preaching and publications too exclusively to the local patois of the language, securing the attention of the lower classes, but exciting the contempt of the higher and more scholarly. It may be the mission of Christianity in eastern Asia to elevate these local languages into vehicles for future literature, as the translation of the Bible into vernacular did

for the priest-despised patois of Europe a few centuries ago. In China, as elsewhere, Christianity will take its first root among the lowly, and not among the proud and Pharisaic literati; it will begin in homes and among women and children, and not among the merchant adventurers of Australia, the Malay Archipelago, or California. Its language every-where is not that of literature and commerce, but that of the hearth and heart. By and by literature will condescend to borrow from that which it originally despised.

Since the chapter on "Classical Literature" was published in 1848, Dr. Legge has given to the world his extended editions of the classics, to the translating and editing of which he devoted his life-work in the intervals of missionary labor. For the old quotations Dr. Williams has wisely substituted some pages from Legge's translation of the "Book of Odes" done

into English verse.

For specimens of the ability of the ancient Chinese, contemporary with the Jewish Moses or Isaiah, to make verse, we must refer the reader to pages 638-40 of the first volume of the revise. One extract of two verses is especially severe upon a female mischief-maker in the court of King Yu. The first reads:

"To woman's tongue let scope be given, And step by step to harm it leads; Disorder does not come from heaven, 'Tis woman's tongue disorder breeds."

Numerous stanzas among the odes show the fairer side of the female character, and go far to neutralize the foregoing, giving the same contrasts in womanly disposition that were portrayed by Solomon in the same age. In the edition of 1848 the life of Mencius was given before that of Confucius; in 1883 these names and the accompanying biographical notices are restored to their chronological order, not a solitary instance of judicious transposition in the making up of the later volumes.

The sketches of the lives of the two great philosophers, Koong and Meng, absurdly written in English, or rather Latin, Confucius and Mencius, (names made of the surname and title combined, like Smithmister and Brownprofessor,) are enriched with incidental touches and enlarged.

Turning the leaves rapidly, and examining cursorily several 34—FOURTH SERIES, VOL. XXXVI.

of the succeeding chapters, we notice valuable additions made from wider study, rarer opportunity, and fresher knowledge to the manufacture of the porcelain for which China has been so long famous, as well as to those other articles of world-wide commercial importance, tea and silk. On pages 87, 88, we find a paragraph worth quoting because it shows the ease and readiness with which the Chinese accept membership in the numerous Christian denominations, representing twenty different missionary societies.

One characteristic feature of Chinese society cannot be omitted in this connection, namely, its tendency to associate. . . . The people crystallize into associations, in town and country, in buying and selling, in studies, fights, politics—women as well as men.

Every one must belong to a ho-ey, and when converted to Christianity it is to join the Methodist Ho-ey, or the Presbyterian Ho-ey, or the Episcopal Ho-ey, whose profound differences in theologies and forms seem no greater to them than those of the industrial associations into which all society is divided.

In trade, capitalists associate to found banks; little farmers club together to buy an ox; pedlers to get the custom of a street; porters to monopolize the loads of a ward; chair-bearers to furnish all the sedans for a town; even the beggars are allotted to special streets, by the ho-ey, and driven off another's beat if they encroach.

Chinese art and symbolism are fully treated and enriched by cuts, one of which depicts the ravages of the thunder-god, encircled by lightning and flames, almost the only Chinese mythological deity portrayed, like the unscriptural angels of Christian painters and artists, with wings.

The chapters on Religion and Missions are of pre-eminent interest to the readers of this review. Full exhibits of the religions of the empire have been given in special and separate treatises by veteran missionaries, Medhurst, Legge, Edkins, Martin, and others. No less than eight religions are tolerated, and flourish side by side, some of them intertwined, single individuals being at once Confucianists in theory and Buddhists in practice. There is the indigenous or State religion, Confucianism, Taouism, Buddhism, Judaism, Mohammedanism, Romanism, Protestantism. The masses are Buddhists, the

product of ten centuries of unremitting missionary labor from India.

The State religion, the worship of Shan-te, supreme ruler, by the emperor in person, a wonderful pageant, is brilliantly illustrated by a frontispiece copied from a Chinese painting.

Legge's "Taouism" ("Religions of China," Scribners, 1881) is later and more satisfactory than Williams, and he who wishes fuller accounts of Buddhism must seek it in Edkins, Legge, Spence Hardy, Barth's superb manual of the "Religions of India," (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1882,) and Arnold's "Light of Asia," "the fervid lines of which," says Dr. Williams, "take one quite into the realm of fable, and make us wish that the Confucian analects and their matter-of-fact detail could have been imitated by the disciples of Siddharta." Confucianism should be saint-worship, (very distasteful it would have been to the political reformer and moralist and non-religionist;) yet the presence of fifteen hundred temples seems to savor of the divine. As the tithes of the ancient State religion and the ten commandments of Buddhism point to an analogy with Judaism, so the seventy special disciples of Confucius and the three thousand converts to his system remind us of the seventy of the Saviour and the three thousand baptized on the day of The real religion of the Chinese Dr. Williams thinks is "the worship of deceased ancestors."

The doctrines of Confucius and the ceremonial of the State religion exhibit the speculative, intellectual dogmas of the educated *literati* and thinkers; the tenets of Lau-tsz, and the sorcery and incantations of his followers, show the mystic and marvelous part of popular belief, while Buddhism takes hold of the common life, offers relief in times of distress, and escape from future hell by a round of prayers. But the heart of the nation reposes more upon the rites offered at the family shrine to the living divinities who preside in the hall of ancestors than to all the rest.—Vol. ii, p. 236.

Christian missions in China, so far as we know, commenced with the Nestorians in the seventh century. The Romanists have put forth herculean efforts to missionize the empire, from the thirteenth century down. The period of their special dominance embraced one hundred and fifty years, from Ricci in 1582 to 1736. "Few missions in pagan countries have been more favored with zealous converts, or more aided and coun-

tenanced by the rich and noble, than the early papal missions to China." Yet, through the constant disputes between the followers of Loyola, Dominic, and Francis, more virulent than any between various denominations of Protestants, they managed to get themselves excluded from the empire.

They evidently decreased in numbers and influence until the new era inaugurated by the treaties of 1858.

Williams gives statistics as follows, reported by themselves, which we have taken the liberty to tabulate:

	*						
	1820.	1839.	1846.	1866.	1870.	1881.	
Bishops	6	8	12	20		41	
Co-adjutors	2		8				
Foreign Missions.	23	57	80	233	254	664	
Native Priests	80	114	90	237	138	559	
Converts	215,000	303,000	400,000	363,000	404,530	1,092,818	

Papal fashion, the total number of converts includes all the members of the families who give outward adherence to the rites of the Church. The tale of converts is doubtless swelled by including infants, surreptitiously—we might add, superstitiously—baptized, in a dying state, by sisters of charity, as at Tientsin, where their anxiety to get infant neophytes led to methods that provoked the jealousy and suspicion of the natives, and inflamed them to such a degree as to result in a mob, and the bloody massacre of twenty foreigners, including the French consul, and as many natives, nurses, teachers, and servants.

The success of Protestant missions since 1844 is decidedly gratifying. We miss the well-thumbed list of missionaries sent out by fourteen Protestant societies between 1807 and 1849, one hundred and twelve in number, found on pages 375, 376 of the second volume, old edition. In the revise, we have, at pages 360–62, the treaty articles which secured the toleration of religion and the protection of Christians. In a letter to the writer, dated February 6, 1878, Dr. Williams refers with pardonable pride and due thankfulness to God, to the "opportunity he had to get the toleration article into the United States treaty, whence it was transferred into the British treaty." On page 362, in a foot-note, he animadverts with characteristic candor and severity upon Article VI of the French treaty, 1860, in relation to the restoration of property once owned by the Romanists, which closes with the clause, "It is

permitted to French missionaries to rent and purchase land in all the provinces, and to erect buildings thereon at pleasure."

"This sentence," says Dr. Williams, "is not contained in the French text of the convention. The surreptitious insertion of this important stipulation in the Chinese text makes it void. The procedure was unworthy of a great nation like France, whose army environed Pekin when the convention was signed."

In carrying out the details of this obnoxious article so much injustice and violence were exhibited by native Romanists, supported by missionaries, in claiming lands alleged to have belonged to them as far back as the days of Ricci and the Ming dynasty, and forcing owners and occupants to yield them without any or sufficient compensation, that riots and hatreds arose in many parts of China. Temples, houses, and shops that had been in the legal possession of natives for one or two centuries were claimed under this stipulation, and they forcibly resisted the surrender. The discontent became so great that the French minister at last issued a notice about 1872 that no more claims of this kind would be received from the missionaries, and further complaints ceased.—Vol. ii, p. 362.

No less than six complete translations of the Bible into the Chinese have been made during this century. Numerous partial translations have been made in the local dialects, dictionaries multiply, and the means for acquiring the language and instructing the natives are manifold what they were thirty years ago. In 1877 a conference of Protestant missionaries was held at Shanghai, in the spirit of the union and catholicity that characterize the present age, at which one hundred and twenty-six men and women, connected with twenty different bodies, assembled to discuss their common work in its various departments. At that conference it was reported that the whole number of missionary stations was 92; outstations, 532; organized Churches, 318; wholly self-supporting, 18; partially self-supporting, 264; male communicants, 8,308; female, 5,207; total of Church members, 13,515; pupils in schools, day, boarding, and Sunday, over 8,000; ordained pastors and preachers, 73; assistant preachers, 519; churches, 246; chapels, 457; hospital patients, 135,381; medical students, 33; contributions by native Christians, \$9,571. The total number of men who had joined the Protestant missions was 484. The

total number of persons then engaged in active work in China was 473; of these 210 belonged to ten American societies; 242 to thirteen British, and 26 to two German societies. Of the women, 172 were the wives of missionaries, and 63 unmarried. In conclusion, Dr. Williams pays merited compliment to the

deceased members of the missionary corps.

The Chinese are eminently a trading people, and the chapter on commerce has been extended by the author somewhat in the measure commensurate with its importance. Opium still occupies its prominent place, notwithstanding the frantic but futile efforts of the government to get rid of it. The import of it was legalized in 1858 under compulsion by the government, which no longer prevents the cultivation of the poppy, and its growth has rapidly extended through the provinces. The average amount of import of this destructive drug Dr. Williams puts at sixty millions of dollars a year. A full exhibit of the traffic in all its hideousness and iniquity. from the pen of Dr. S. L. Baldwin, will be found in the October number of this Review for 1883. Full tables of the amount and value of foreign trade with China, with exports of teas and merchandise, are brought down to 1881.

Out of the concluding chapters of the edition of 1848 not less than twenty pages have been omitted, and half as many substituted in their place. They contained a full and succinct account of the origin and progress of the war, which, as Dr. Williams says, "was looked upon by the Chinese, and will always be looked upon by the candid historian, and known to posterity, as the Opium War." He regards it as "matter of lasting regret that the impression has been left on the minds of the Chinese people that the war was an Opium War, and waged chiefly to uphold commerce in that pernicious and destructive article."

Chapter XXIV is a condensed account of that singular episode in Chinese history—the Tai-ping rebellion. It is a romantic story, and as reliable as it is romantic. It is impossible to compress into a few pages that which has occupied volumes. Nevertheless, we know of no account more succinct and accurate than that given to the general reader in the twenty-fourth chapter of "The Middle Kingdom." A disappointed Canton scholar, failing to become a literary graduate,

gets a smattering of Bible doctrines through missionary tract distribution, becomes a sort of convert, abjures idolatry, burns temples, smashes idols, has visions, works cures, preaches, baptizes, keeps the Sabbath, gathers adherents by the thousand, becomes possessed of the idea that he is chosen of Heaven to overthrow the Tartar dynasty that has lasted for two centuries, begins in 1851 his northwardly march, takes capital after capital of the provinces that lie in his route, till within little over a year he is in possession of Nankin, the old capital of the empire, on the mighty "Child of the Ocean"—the Yang-tzekiang. One of his lieutenauts marches through several of the provinces north of that till he gets within seventy or eighty miles of Pekin. Why the insurgents did not rush upon the capital and seize the reins of power when the government was crippled in 1858, and again in 1860, by the foreign powers, is only explained on the supposition that the leader was not equal to his position—that it is easier to disorganize and destroy than to build up and create. How the King of Universal Peace held communications with the Father Almighty, called himself the brother of Jesus Christ, and inquired whether the Virgin Mary had not a virgin sister whom he could marry and add to his harem of wives, need not be recounted here. Neither can we dwell upon the attitude of England, hastening, in 1861, to recognize the Southerners as belligerents, and at the same time assisting to squelch the Tai-pings as rebels, bringing the rebellion to a summary and speedy end in 1864 by the agency of one of her own lieutenants, the famous Colonel Gordon. All this reads like romance in the pages of Dr. Williams, who concludes the chapter thus:

The once peaceful and populous parts of the nine great provinces through which the hordes of Tai-ping passed have hardly yet begun to be returned to their previous condition. Ruined cities, desolated towns, heaps of rubbish, still mark their course from Kwang-Si to Tientsin, a distance of two thousand miles. Their presence was an unmitigated scourge, attended by nothing but disaster from beginning to end, without the least effort on their part to rebuild what had been destroyed, to protect what was left, or to repay what had been stolen. Wild beasts roamed at large over the land after their departure, and made their dens in the deserted towns; the pheasant's whir resounded where the hum of busy populations had ceased, and weeds and jungle covered the ground once tilled with patient industry. Millions

on millions of wealth was irrecoverably lost and destroyed, and misery, sickness, and starvation were the lot of the survivors. It has been estimated by foreigners living at Shanghai, that from 1851 to 1865, fully twenty millions of human beings were destroyed in connection with the Tai-ping rebellion.

In 1853 the hopes of missionaries and of the Christian world were high, because of the professed Christian character of the revolutionists. They were doomed to disappointment. Chaplain Hobson, the Bishop of Victoria, and many others, opined that the Chinese Empire was crumbling to pieces, and that a new dynasty would be erected on the ruins that would tolerate Christianity, and put renewed China into the family of nations. British and French cannon were the missionaries destined to effect this great and much-desired change. Yet the Tai-ping movement was not without its blessings, some of which Edkins points out: the dissemination of even imperfect ideas of Christianity; the dispelling of the idea of the infallible and divine character of the emperor as the son of Heaven; and, above all, the gratitude created in the minds of the Imperialists by the timely aid afforded in the hour of the empire's dire necessity.

We cannot commend or approve the rage of the Manchurulers who retaliated the wholesale slaughter of the troops and garrisons by the Tai-pings by decapitating rebels by platoons. In 1861 we looked with shuddering interest on the little square "execution ground" in the city of Canton, where Yek cut off seventy thousand heads in one year—Williams says "a hundred thousand in fourteen months." The second war grew out of the interference of the Chinese with a vessel carrying the British flag, precipitated by a "fiery" consul * and a "conceited" Hong-Kong governor.† It resulted in a final raid by French and British upon Pekin, the complete humiliation of the Chinese, who were forced to open their long-closed doors to receive embassadors and ministers from foreign nations on terms of perfect equality, and to send ministers to those courts in return.

On my arrival at Canton in 1833, [says Dr. Williams,] I was officially reported to the hong merchant Kingqua as a foreign devil who had come to live under his tutelage. In 1874, as secretary of the American embassy at Pekin, I accompanied Hon. B. P. Avery to the presence of the Emperor Tungchi, when the United States minister presented his letters of credence on a footing of

^{*} Parkes.

perfect equality with the "son of Heaven." With two such experiences in a life-time . . . it is not strange that I am assured of a great future for the son of Heaven.

We could wish that every thing might tend in the direction of educating the Chinese nation up to its destined place in the family of nations. When the writer was in China he insisted on the benefits of teaching the natives English, and taught all who desired to learn; and had the gratification after his return to America of receiving from his last teacher a letter, written in a good hand, and in perfectly correct English. Now Anglo-Chinese schools are established at Pekin, Foochow, and elsewhere as useful adjuncts to missionary effort. It is singularly anomalous that after years of labor, several wars, and the expenditure of millions of treasure and the sacrifice of thousands of lives, to compel the Chinese to open their empire to the influx of foreigners, the American nation, with millions of miles of unoccupied territory, should be the first to inaugurate the very policy of exclusion which united nations whipped the Chinese out of!

We send word to the emperor that we wish he would keep his yellow subjects at home. He sends back word that he would be only too happy to do so, and will be doubly obliged if we will keep our merchants and missionaries off his soil, and persuade the whole race of devil barbarians to do the same. "To the Chinese mind," says Consul Medhurst, "progress. represents the free introduction into the country of a pushing, self-willed, impracticable, eccentric race, whose notions and habits are at utter variance with every thing to which they have hitherto been accustomed." "The ruling and influential classes only tolerate our presence in the country, and I firmly believe they would hail the day when they could see the last foreign factorate razed to the ground and the last ship dismissed from the coast, malgré the loss to the national revenue and the ruin of districts dependent on our trade that would surely ensue." In the East the Chinese are the great colonizers. The Shanghai Conference of 1879 called attention to the overflow upon the Indian Archipelago, Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific coast, and says, "It will prove a blessing or a curse, just in proportion as the frontier is cared for." "There is no hope for China in itself." Its hopes for education, enlightenment and Christianity, rest with the white race, the custodian, under God, of the dark races of the globe. Hand in hand, commerce and Christianity are making the tour of the world. They are antagonistic only alone. Commerce enthrones cupidty in the place of conscience. The Chinese are a nation of traders with very little conscience. The British are a nation of shop-keepers subject to spasmodic exacerbations of conscience. As yet the conscience of the nation has never so triumphed over interest as to prevent the raising of opium by one heathen nation to debase another heathen nation in spite of the frantic remonstrances of its half-civilized rulers.

In 1877 the Chinese embassador to England put the question to Dr. Legge: "Which country, from a moral stand-point, is the better of the two, England or China?" "England," replied the patriotic Scotch doctor. The mandarin pushed back his chair, rose, strode across the room, and cried: "You say that England is better than China from a moral stand-point! Then how is it that England insists on our taking opium?"

The education of a national conscience is slow work. In the liquor trade here, and the opium trade there, individual passion and trade cupidity override conscience. Flabby politicians urge lightly the make-shift urged upon the mandarins by Sir John Davis forty years ago: "Legalize the traffic you can't control." To every form of human hurt the Framer of the moral code laid down the positive "Thou shalt not," without stopping to inquire whether a man would stint obedience or obey.

But it is time to take leave of "The Middle Kingdom," and its pious, devoted, scholarly, plain-spoken author. It would be pleasant to refer to many other things, and to quote more largely from its pages. Its treasures of Chinese bibliography are worth the price of the volumes. He enriches his work by citations from nearly two hundred authors, the names of whose works are given in the text or foot-notes. The style in which the work is gotten up, its size, illustrations, chapter headings, voluminous index, print, and binding, are all indicative of the times and reflect credit upon the publishers.

The work, as we said in the outset, is monumental. To the memory of Ward and Gordon, captains of the Ever-Victorious Force that suppressed the rebellion, the grateful Chinese will erect shrines, if not temples, and burn incense forever as to

saints or divinities. Both nations, the Chinese and American, will owe a supreme debt of gratitude to Dr. Williams for a lifelong effort to create a mutual understanding and a Christian good-will that shall affect the welfare of millions.

China's second great philosopher, Mencius, said: "There is no attribute of a great man greater than his helping other men to practice virtue." And again: "A wise man is the teacher

of a hundred generations."

ART. VIII. — SOME ASPECTS OF THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

THE declaration of the apostle, made somewhat incidentally, that the advent of Christ was at "the fullness of time," sets forth a fact of far-reaching import. Many learned men, uniting the offices of the scholar and the artist, have delighted to picture to the imagination the expectant world waiting for the Coming One: some, in the clear vision of prophecy; some, in unconscious aspirations and groanings, as they who wait for the morning, looking with untiring hope for the long-looked for deliverance; many more, caring only for their present pursuits and pleasures, but unconsciously "building better than they knew," were bringing about that order of things in human affairs which should best subserve the purposes of the divine providence respecting the establishment of Christ's kingdom among men. The incarnation took place, as to the earthward side, long ages after it was called for by the apostasy, and promised by God himself to fallen man. Nor is this long delay an altogether inexplicable mystery. A train of preparatory processes for that great event is plainly traceable; and as Christ came not only to suffer and die for man's redemption, but also to reveal God's will, and to inaugurate the dispensation of the Gospel among men, the condition in which the world should be found at and closely following his coming was a matter of the highest importance.

Among the several items enumerated by the pen of inspiration, as contained in "the mystery of godliness," is the twofold fact that it was "preached among the Gentiles" and "believed on in the world;" and of all the wonderful things about the Gospel's career, its conquest of the Roman Empire, and its dominance of the whole western world in less than three hundred years from its first promulgation, is perhaps to human appearances the most wonderful. The purpose of this initial study respecting one of the greatest events in the promulgation of the Gospel and its acceptance—the preparation and publication of the Epistle to the Romans—shall be to make a survey of the situation of the world at that time. The subject is not an occult one, for scarcely to any other age has the Muse of History ever been so partial, and yet it is a very broad field, and

our survey of it must be both general and hasty.

The world at that time, so far as seen either in sacred or profane history, was simply the Roman Empire. The flight of the Roman eagle was from the Euphrates to the Atlantic, and from the Danube to the Great Sahara; and there was none to challenge his authority. Roman arms then held the unwilling peoples in quiet subjection; and Roman law, which always followed in the footsteps of the conquering legions, was everywhere present, decreeing equal justice to all free subjects, and bearing the sword not in vain-not (to such) as "a terror to good works, but to the evil "-and enforcing peace and order among the (until now) hostile and belligerent nations. The Divinity that rules in human affairs had "made wars to cease;" so that even martial Rome rested from conquest and slaughter. The world as then known was a single consolidated empire, under a sole imperial power, and subject generally to the same laws; and the empire was at peace.

The career of conquest by which Rome had become mistress of the world, and its empire world-wide, had also enriched all Italy with the spoils of the vanquished nations. Gradually, through more than seven hundred years, the nations of the world had been contributing of their most valued treasures for the enriching of the city on the Tiber, and steadily, through all these years, the Roman people had been advancing in all the forms of natural greatness. Theirs were the harvests of the most distant fields; the gold and silver, the pearls and precious stones of the whole world, gravitated to the banks of the Tiber; and the arts of Egypt and Assyria and Persia, and, beyond all others, of Greece, had found their resting-place in Rome.

And with their works of art came also the artists to teach their. conquerors, and to naturalize taste and culture on Italian soil. Rome itself, within its twenty miles of circumvallations, was at the time of the advent a vast aggregation of palaces, the home of luxury such as, happily for us, is unknown in our times; and all Italy was a region of villas, and gardens, and pleasure grounds, while its smaller cities rivaled the metropolis in wealth, culture, luxury, and debauchery. The cessation of wars had given opportunity for the pursuits of peace, and the Augustan age ensued, with all that we seek to express by that name; which, however, in its reality, entirely outstripped men's largest conceptions. Wealth and luxury demand the service of menials, and accordingly Rome swarmed with slaves, who made up numerically the greater proportion of her millions of peoples. These were chiefly prisoners of war; often the ablest, the most learned and cultured, of the desolated and despoiled nations; and now they served their masters with their learning and genius as scholars and artists, and in all the learned professions; and, despite their condition, they constituted a not inconsiderable social element. besides these, there was the Roman populace—a vast multitude of idle, effeminate, and pleasure-loving men and women, who lived only to indulge their passions and lusts, and their worse than brutish impulses, and to whom the government distributed its daily dole of provisions, and for whom it maintained, at untold cost, theatrical displays, athletic sports, and gladiatorial shows. Such was the city of Rome of the first Christian century.

But in the midst of this every-where manifest material splendor—this idleness, effeminacy, and pleasure-seeking—there was no lack of learning, and of deep and broad and elevating thought. The more earnest tendencies of the period took the forms of Platonism and Stoicism, while an equally learned and scarcely less thoughtful class accepted the philosophy of the Epicureans, who, believing nothing and hoping for nothing but what might befall them in the blind happenings of fortune, made it their wisdom to seize the pleasure of the passing hour, regardless alike of the claims of an ideal right or the recompenses of the absolutely uncertain future. The Stoics were the highest type of Romans, learned, thoughtful, and proud;

worshipers of virtue according to their conception of it, sensible of the emptiness of what men usually call pleasure, with a blind intuition of the right, and of obligation to conform to its demands, and thoroughly possessed of an egoistical contempt for the vulgar herds of humanity. This people were without a properly defined religious faith; their god was little more than an unknown force, and the future life was for them simply an aspiration and a dream, and man himself was in effect only an atom drifting helplessly upon the flood of the ages, without the power to choose his way or to determine his own destiny, but wholly subject to FATE. The Platonists were Grecian rather than Roman, as to the source of their doctrines, and also as to their modes of thinking, but their school had become widely established in Rome. They were idealists, affecting especially subjective meditations and speculations. They were theists, because they inferred, logically, that existence implies an originating cause, and therefore before all existences must be an ultimate First Cause, which they named God. But because he was essentially unknown, and indeed unknowable, though he might be made the object of the most exalted contemplation, his distance from all conditioned things rendered. him unfit to be an object of worship, and therefore their religious instincts went out to secondary divinities. Their moral ideals were dreamy, indefinite, and uncertain; so that necessarily their system was without authority over their lower impulses; vet were they self-opinionated, and in thought luxurious, selfish, and indolent, and so without moral stamina, and quite unable to redeem others.

The religion of the Roman Empire was, apart from the Jewish element, a universal idolatry, of many forms and ethnic varieties, and yet with a broad and deep unity of character. Comparative mythology readily detects this essential unity beneath the many varieties seen in various countries. Its original element was a naturalism, which was somewhat formulated in both Egypt and Syria, and being brought from both of these countries into Greece, it was there wrought into an elaborate mythology, partly in the form of philosophical symbols, but chiefly in poetic fables and stories of the exploits of the gods, which were not expected to be believed. The gods of the Grecian Olympus were essentially anthropological,

endowed with vast physical powers but without intellectual greatness, and entirely depraved morally. This was the recognized religion, as to both creed and *cultus*, of the Roman Empire; and though it was the policy of Rome to allow each conquered nation to retain its own religion, yet there was among nearly all of them substantially the same mythology and similar religious forms.

But through all this was diffused another and essentially diverse religious element. When God separated a single nation for himself, according to his covenant with Abraham, he seems to have abandoned all the rest of the world, and given them over to their own folly; and thus left to themselves they turned away from seeking after God, and become vain in their imaginations, and their foolish hearts were darkened. This was evidently one side of the process of the work of preparation for the bringing in of the Gospel, of which the history of the chosen people presented the counterpart. For two thousand years the Gentile mind had been allowed to pursue its own course, not, indeed, without providential oversight, nor absolutely without spiritual guidance, but practically it was allowed to grope its way and to work out its own designs, and the result is concisely but comprehensively summed up in the saying, "The world by wisdom knew not God." And now this godlessness of thought had run its course and matured its fruit-a deep and all-embracing darkness of mind and heart, intellectual agnosticism, and an overmastering moral depravity of spirit. Men had turned away from God, and made gods for themselves; and God had given them up to work out their own evil purposes; and while they thus "changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshiped and served the creature more than the Creator," the deep native depravity of their hearts had opportunity to develop itself in all forms of monstrous vices and corruptions.

It is quite impossible for us, who have happily never become used to such fearful shapes of matured depravity, to form an adequate conception of the terrible moral corruption of heathen Rome during the early Christian centuries. A glance at it is given in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, but only such as to awaken inquiry rather than to clearly state the case. But the subject is not an occult one. It can be learned

not only from the extant writings of the censors and moralists of those times, but much more from its poets and satirists, its Both the "polite" literature and the Ovids and Juvenals. "high art" of these times (which as to simply artistic finish are of a very high order) when viewed as illustrations of the manners of the times attest the fearful depth of the corruption of even the most cultivated classes. On the one side stand the bloody gladiatorial games, to witness which Rome daily sent out to the Coliseum tens of thousands of her best citizens, men and women, who there found their highest delights in witnessing contests of naked men with each other or with wild beasts, where slaughters by sword or dagger or heavy blows, or by the jaws of the lions, constituted the chief points of interest, and were greeted with the loudest plaudits. On the other side may be seen some indications of the unrestrained practice of licentiousness which had become interwoven into the worship of some of their chief divinities, especially of Bacchus and Venus, in respect to which we may only remark, that they were too gross to be named, and yet they were not only done, but gloried in, by the cultivated Romans of the days of the Empire. So terrible are the evidences of the depravity of those days, that as the lapse of time bears us away from them, and better associations incline us to doubt the possibility of such deep descents into vice, the world was becoming skeptical as to the correctness of the things declared to us; but God did not allow their record to be lost. In one night one of the centers of these abominations, the beautiful city of Pompeii, was suddenly buried with a flood of ashes from Vesuvius while the flood of its daily life was in its full current; and eighteen hundred years later it has been exhumed, to show us by indubitable ocular proofs what that life was. The moral sense of even the Italy of the present day will not tolerate the sights and scenes that were then and there displayed for the public delight.

A closely guarded apartment in the Museum of Naples has been made the receptacle and hiding-place of a large class of statues and pictures taken from the ruins of Pompeii, from which all but a very few visitors are carefully excluded. No youth may look upon them because of their vileness, and no woman could see them but to be either deeply pained or fear-

fully corrupted; and yet these were the open, every-day sights prepared for the public delectation of one of the most refined cities of Italy in the first century. These things demonstrate with fearful clearness the entire compatibility of the finest esthetic culture with the grossest moral depravity; for these works of art, though too indecent to be seen or described, are among the finest specimens of ancient art, showing the genius of taste debasing herself to the service of worse than

bestial depravity.

Another demonstrative illustration of the morals of the Romans at the time now under notice is seen in the picture of Roman slavery, which then comprehended a large part of the inhabitants. The baldest records of its conditions will suffice for our purpose. Roman slavery was perpetual and hereditary; it had no limit but the life of the slave, and the child inherited the condition of the parent. The slave had no protection whatever against the avarice, rage, or lust of the master, and was viewed less as a human being subject to arbitrary dominion than as an inferior animal dependent wholly on the will of his owner. The master possessed uncontrolled power of life and death over his slave. He might, and frequently did, kill, mutilate, and torture his slaves, for any or for no offense, so that the slaves were sometimes crucified from mere caprice. He might force them to become prostitutes or gladiators; and instead of the perpetual obligation of such marriages as they were allowed to contract, these unions were formed and dissolved by the master's command, and when the slaves fell sick or infirm by age there was no obligation to care for them. we are compelled to confess that this picture has been reproduced in some of its worst features in the slavery of our times, it must also be noticed that these modern slaves were at first the lowest kind of savages, and that it became impossible to hold them as slaves except as they were savages; and better still, the Christian sentiment of the age has effectually set its mark of condemnation upon it.

Though God designed that the Jews should be a separated people, that they might conserve and perpetuate his name and worship, and also become the receptacle of his revelations, they held also important relations to the heathen world. That which was announced to Abraham, that in his seed all the nations of

³⁵⁻FOURTH SERIES, VOL. XXXVI.

the earth should be blessed, was in part verified in the history of the Jewish people. Their very isolation made them conspicuous, and drew attention to the one great truth of which they were the living witness—the name of Jehovah, the being and character of the one only and true God; and the nations of the world recognized that truth, and in not a few cases sent their offerings to Jerusalem, or became themselves worshipers at the temple. And although, as to their own land, the Jews were a hermit nation, yet both by force and by their own free choice individuals of that nation were, during a large part of their history, a felt presence in many of the principal kingdoms of the earth, often occupying high places, and in their later history they were scattered, as men of business, in almost every city. And by the nature of the case every Jew was a propagandist of his national faith. A large part of the nation were, at a comparatively early date, carried as captives into Assyria, and later another portion, including those of the kingdom of Judah, were carried to Babylonia, and strangely enough, not far from the time of the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, one Jew (Daniel) was the chief minister, another the cup-bearer, and a Jewess the consort, of the Persian monarch. Afterward, when permission was given by Cyrus for the exiles to return to their own land, only comparatively few availed themselves of the proffered favor. Jewish settlements in the far East were recognized as late as the times of the apostles. Even before the times of Alexander the Great many Jews had become domiciliated at various points in Syria and Phenicia, and both Seleucus and Antiochus established colonies of Jews, with all the rights of citizens, in their dominions; and still later they became scattered, chiefly as traders, throughout Asia Minor and Greece and Italy. It is known that in the time of the prophet Jeremiah a large number of Jews migrated to Egypt, and afterward Alexandria became a semi-Jewish capital, whence they also spread abroad into Ethiopia (Abyssinia) and along the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, in Africa. Jewish captives were taken to Rome, after some of the earlier Roman invasions of their country, but they were set free and erected into a local community by Julius Cæsar, to which large additions were made by subsequent immigrations, some of whom were in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost.

The Jewish character of those times appears to have been instinctively, and even intensely, religious. The expatriated Jews carried their religion with them into their places of sojourn, and wherever they wandered they uniformly prayed with their faces toward Jerusalem, and they were not content simply to exercise and enjoy their religion for themselves, but they were constantly striving, and not without success, to win over to it their Gentile fellow-townsmen. Some such became full proselytes—were circumcised, and so were identified with the people of God. The existence of such a class is indicated by such cases as those of the Greeks who were at the feast at Jerusalem and desired to see Jesus-of the Ethiopian eunuch, the centurion of Capernaum, and Cornelius of Cesarea, and generally by the intelligent readiness of many of the Gentiles, both the rulers and the common people, to listen to the Gospel as preached by the apostles. Evidently nearly all parts of the vast Roman Empire had become, to a greater or less extent, the homes of members of the "twelve tribes scattered abroad," and not only these had by their steady adherence to the religion of their fathers already somewhat leavened the communities in which they severally lived, but also they were present in them, ready to be influenced by the Gospel when it should be brought to them. The divine hand had placed them there, that, like leaven in the meal, they might become available for the furtherance of the Gospel.

Among those who are named as hearing and being convinced and converted by Peter's preaching on the day of Pentecost were "sojourners from Rome, both Jews and proselytes." Some of these probably returned to their distant home, and became the nucleus of the Christian society of the metropolis, which seems to have grown into form by the instinctive tendency of Christians to associate together. And these, with others who became of them, constituted those "that be in Rome," to whom St. Paul addressed his epistle.

The most conspicuous figure in the New Testament history, after its divine Head, is no doubt he who was first known as Saul of Tarsus, and later as Paul, the Apostle to the Gentiles. He was himself an Israelite "of the dispersion," born at Tarsus, in Cilicia, soon after the beginning of the Christian era. His father was a citizen of Tarsus, and, in common with his

fellow-citizens, he was endowed with the franchises of Roman citizenship, which his son also inherited. He was of the tribe of Benjamin, and evidently thoroughly devoted to the Jewish religion. But he resided in a Gentile city, and neither he nor his family could escape the effects of the social atmosphere in which they lived, which through Grecian influence was decidedly liberal in its tendencies. While the home education of the boy was probably in the customs of the older and stricter Jewish school of thought, his out-door education was evidently of the spirit of the Grecian thought and culture. The schools of his native city made use of the Greek language, which quite certainly the young Hebrew spoke as his vernacular, and he also learned its literature. But this provincial Greek was not the classic dialect of Athens, and though St. Paul was clearly no mean scholar in the language of Asia Minor, it is equally evident that he was not a master of the classical Greek. It is evident, too, that his early Grecized training influenced his methods of thinking, for though his later studies brought him somewhat under the influence of the rabbinical methods, yet the traces of his earlier training may be seen in his writings. Traces also of Roman forms of thought, learned evidently in his boyhood, may also be detected in his methods.

At about twelve or thirteen years old he was taken to Jerusalem, and placed under the instruction of Gamaliel, then at the head of one of the great rabbinical schools—that of Hillel of which he himself became the great ornament. How long he continued a learner in this school we are not told, but as he seems to have accomplished its full course, his term of instruction was probably not less than ten years. He says of himself that he profited by, or became proficient in, the Jews' religion beyond most others, but he gives no dates. He first appears on the stage at the martyrdom of Stephen, which is usually set down as occurring three or four years after the crucifixion of Christ, and then he is called a "young man;" but he was already in an advanced public station, indicating that he was not less than thirty years old. The Christian cause was already making itself felt in Jerusalem, and though there had been a few years of comparative freedom from persecution, during which time not a few of the priestly party among the Jews had accepted the Gospel, now, apparently because of the apparent lack of deference for the ceremonial law, a violent persecution was aroused against at least the more liberal of the Christians, of which Stephen became the first victim—the stoning occurring under the oversight of "a young man named Saul." It having been also determined to bring under the discipline of the Sanhedrin certain Christians in Damascus, Saul was deputized to proceed to that city and to bring all the Christians that he might there find to Jerusalem. It was while going thither that the great event occurred which changed the whole course of his life, and by which the persecutor became the apostle.

Saul, after his conversion, remained at or near Damascus about three years, preaching Christ. Then he made a visit to Jerusalem, remaining only a few days; and evidently finding it unsafe to remain longer, he retired to his native city, Tarsus, where he remained for a while—how long, whether one year, two, or three, cannot be certainly determined—when he was called by Barnabas to aid in the great evangelistic work then proceeding at Antioch. After this his career constitutes the most considerable item in the New Testament history.

Just how early the controversy about the relation of Christian converts to the ceremonial law arose cannot be certainly determined, but we seem to see traces of it in the charges made against Stephen, on which he was condemned and stoned. The Greek and the Hebrew parties had also appeared in the Church at Jerusalem in the affair that led to the appointment of the seven deacons, one of whom, Philip, was the first to baptize a heathen convert, and another, Stephen, was put to death under a charge that he had said, "that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, [the temple—that is, its service,] and shall change the customs which Moses delivered to us," a charge which, though a perversion of the truth, no doubt had some foundation of fact. Three years later we find Saul at Jerusalem, "disputing with the Grecians, who went about to kill him," but we are not well informed whether or not these Hellenists were in any sense or degree believers, though their intimacy with the concerns of the infant Church might suggest the suspicion that they were. The truce that followed, during which the Church enjoyed a season of quiet prosperity in all parts of Palestine, was varied by Peter's affair with Cornelius,

which at first produced not a little opposition at Jerusalem, but was acquiesced in by "the apostles and brethren that were in Judea," but only after a considerable amount of "contention." After this came the affairs at Antioch, when "a great number" of uncircumcised Grecians "turned unto the Lord," and of necessity the question arose whether or not these converts must, as Christian believers, receive circumcision and submit to all the obligations of the Levitical law, which evidently some were not disposed to do, while others insisted that it was necessary. To meet this difficulty Barnabas was sent to Antioch as a kind of informal and advisory apostolical legate; but he soon became much more interested in the work of grace which he saw in progress than in any questions of the Jewish law involved in the case, and after laboring with them for some time as an evangelist, and finding the work too heavy for himself alone, he turned for assistance, not to the Church at Jerusalem, but to Saul, who was then at Tarsus, and whom he now brought to Antioch, where he continued to labor "for the space of a whole year."

The Church at Antioch was at first planted by the labors of others than the apostles, and it seems to have been from the beginning largely independent of the Church at Jerusalem, so forming a kind of non-Judaic brotherhood. Its relations to the more remote provinces of the west, and the fact that some of its converts belonged in those parts, seemed to make them its proper mission field, and accordingly Barnabas and Saul were sent out to that work, in which they traveled widely, preaching the Gospel through Asia Minor with remarkable success for two years, and then they returned to Antioch and reported their doings to the Church. The growth of the Church among the heathen was carefully noted at Jerusalem, and some overzealous persons of the mother Church, evidently without any official authorization, came to Antioch, "and taught the brethren [the Gentile converts] that, 'Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved." Evidently a pretty sharp controversy followed, which resulted in sending a deputation to Jerusalem, headed by Barnabas and Saul, to obtain the sense of that body upon the great question at issue. The council that met to hear and determine the case, though clearly representing the mother Church, was evidently informal and without legal power over the case, and yet its decisions could not fail to be widely effective, and the decision was clearly in favor of the Gentile party. Peace being now established, Barnabas and Saul set out on another missionary tour, going over much the same ground as before, and every-where preaching the Gospel, without requiring of their converts the observance of any part of the ceremonial law of the Jews. But the discomfited partisans of the Judaistic school did not quietly accept the decision of the "apostles and brethren" at Jerusalem, but at once, both vigorously and persistently, sought to withstand their teachings and those of the Antiochian school, and to insist on the necessity of conforming to the Mosaic law. And while, probably, the base of the movement was at Jerusalem, its emissaries were found promoting divisions in all places where the Gospel had been preached and Churches gathered.

The conflict thus raised was evidently very bitter; the opposition to the Gospel of the apostle was certainly formidable; and it was terminated only by the destruction of Jerusalem and the utter subversion of the Jewish state. Signs of the presence of this controversy and of its sharpness are seen in nearly all of St. Paul's epistles, but more especially in those to the Galatians and the Romans—the former being the more directly controversial, the latter covering the same ground of argument, but much more fully and elaborately drawing out and setting in order the great central and vital doctrines of the

Christian system.

The Church at Rome, of whose founding no account is given, probably grew into form soon after the day of Pentecost, and without the presence or aid of any official or apostolical agents. Because Rome was a place of resort for people from all parts, the Church so begun would naturally become augmented, both by those coming from abroad and by conversions made on the spot. The probable date of the epistle allows not less than thirty years for its continuance and increase, and the indications are, that at the time of its writing that Church was among the most considerable in all the world; and all its conditions and environments appear to show it to have been that to which such an epistle might be addressed, though quite certainly its ultimate design extended much further than to any one place or age.

In treating of the substance of the Epistle to the Romans it is safe to assume, without argument, that it is, as it purports to be, an authentic production of the hand of the apostle Paul, and that our copy of it is genuine, substantially as originally written, and that this letter was actually sent to the Church at Rome about the usually accepted date; and with this view of the matter we have now to consider its contents.

It is a brief document, may be read through at a sitting, and yet it embodies most of the chief doctrinal points of the Gospel. It brings in nothing new, or additional to what had been before declared by divine authority. The apostle's position in this epistle is not that of a "revelator" bringing original intimations given to him by the Holy Spirit, but of a divinely illuminated expositor of things already revealed. doctrinal matter found in the Epistle to the Romans may be found in the older Christian documents; but they are found there in a somewhat fragmentary form, scattered through a great many books, and nowhere logically formulated. The purpose here seems to be to combine these fragmentary utterances into a symmetrical whole, with the several points so arranged as to show their mutual relations and interdependen-This was a work not hitherto attempted; perhaps the time for it had not before come: but now evidently it was distinctly called for, and the man for the work was also at hand.

There were then three well-defined modes of thought in the world, each somewhat entering into each of the others, and all together constituting an active but unsettled state of the public mind, which demanded to be informed and satisfied. Grecian idealism, the subjective method, and the love of the beautiful, had become widely diffused, and it strongly affected the prevailing modes of thinking, and the controlling sentiments of the more cultivated especially, and the great multitude generally. It delighted to occupy itself with the most profound problems of being, and with the soul's deepest intuitions; it contemplated a world quite beyond the range of man's physical senses, and was familiar with theistical and ethical ideas; and quite naturally it mooted, though it could not answer, the great question of man's immortality and of the future life. But, as matter of fact, these higher and purer aspirations of men's minds were overborne by the prevailing 1884.]

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depravity of life and manners, so that they were almost entirely

unavailing for practical purposes.

There was also a specifically Roman form of thought, which from its conditions was just then powerfully effective. It was almost wholly realistic, looking only to things specifically material, and considering them chiefly as forces operating according to definite modes. Hence, power, dominion, and law were its elements, and thoughts so formed and directed had gone forward till the whole world had been subjected to them, and under this directing spirit Roman prowess had rendered Roman dominance world-wide, and also carried with it its materialistic arts and its legislation. The Roman idea, of force acting by law, pervaded and permeated and controlled the ruling powers of the empire, and also incorporated itself in the thoughts of the whole people.

The Hebrew mind was always characteristically religious, and all its processes and manifestations were affected by that tendency; and though the political power of that people had become almost wholly extinct, yet evidently the influence of Hebrew thought was incomparably greater in the world at the time of Christ and his apostles than it had been at any previous period. The religion of the Hebrews was the very opposite of Grecian idealism, or of any form of philosophical materialism. It taught men to look beyond themselves for instruction as to both what to believe and what to do. The Hebrew mind habitually contemplated the divine Person, who, according to its conception, was infinite in his attributes and absolutely unsearchable, except as he revealed himself by his Spirit, and not only immanent in all things, but also intelligently and authoritatively present and active in human affairs. And so had he revealed himself to the Hebrew fathers, that they possessed a divinely ordained religious system of both faith and worship, and covenanted assurances of God's favor. Theirs was eminently a religion based upon faith in the invisble Jehovah, the one only true God; and in that simple postulate both Grecian idealism and Roman power-worship found their best possible expression, and all the world was moved by it to feel after God, "if haply they might find him."

These several and diverse mental characteristics not only existed among those who immediately represented them, but

they were brought into direct contact with each other among conditions most favorable to their mutual acting and reacting. The Roman conquerors, who uniformly came to stay, brought with them and naturalized in all places the ruling Roman ideas of power and dominion regulated by law, and these naturally became dominant among the nations whether Greeks or barbarians, Jews or Gentiles. Both the Greeks and the Jews had become migratory, and were found domiciliated in nearly every city and nation; and living thus together, at once free themselves and restrained from interfering with the freedom of others, they were permitted to affect each other as they might be able by moral and social influences. Both of these races were of the mercantile calling—a calling which uniformly tends to suppress religious peculiarities in the interest of trade -but as the Jew was less compliant than the Greek in these things, so the Jewish religious thought was the more effective. However removed from the temple and the synagogue, and however dimly he saw the promises and hopes of his nation, the Jew was a Jew still, and somehow he dimly but strongly hoped that his expectations of Israel's greatness and glories would be realized. The Greek, on the contrary, held his religious convictions very loosely, and was as to country cosmopolitan. His religion, which was at first little better than a blind fetichism, had, with the increase of intelligence, become a mere mythology, and the deeper thoughts of earlier times had faded out and given place to an almost universal negation of faith—Great Pan is dead. And yet there was among them an unrest, and an unconscious craving for something to believe and some object worthy to be worshiped. The world seemed to be standing still and unconsciously asking, "Who will show us any good thing ?"

All of these several forms of thought are clearly manifest in St. Paul's mental and spiritual habitudes. He was, under the divine providence, the creature of his times in his intellectual habits and his conceptions of spiritual things. So far as these several systems contained elements of truth, he took them into himself and assimilated them in his own spirit; and at the same time, by the action of the indwelling Spirit, he rejected from his system all forms and degrees of untruth. Any attempt to estimate the character of St. Paul as an apostle

and an evangelist of a better faith, that does not take fully into the account the specially spiritual qualifications which he brought to his work, must fatally fail; and though it is conceded that the Epistle to the Romans records no revelations by which new Christian truths or doctrines are promulgated, yet Paul's qualification for the work was nevertheless clearly an inspiration and a revelation. In him was fulfilled to an eminent degree the promise of Christ, that the divine Spirit should be imparted to guide the believers into all truth. To his quickened spiritual apprehension the things before revealed and recorded in isolated parts not only appeared in their glorious reality, but also in their mutual co-relations. It was his peculiar mission to concentrate these scattered rays of truth into a burning focus; to arrange them together into a spiritual organism, each member in its place, and altogether constituting a harmonious whole. And this is the peculiar excellence of this epistle.

To his apprehension the Gospel was a system of truth disclosing the divine Person and character, and also man's character as a creature made in God's image, but now defiled and cursed by sin, toward whom, however, God was still inclined to be merciful, and for whose salvation he had wrought out the scheme of the Gospel of which the written word is a revela-These things he found set forth in the older Scriptures. but scattered in parts through many books, illustrated by various divinely appointed ritualistic services and religious institutions, and announced by prophets and seers, and proclaimed in great fullness and power by Christ himself. To collate these undigested materials in a symmetrical unity is the evident design of the Epistle to the Romans. It was the design of the Holy Spirit to bring the embodied truths of the Gospel within the sphere of human thought as it then existed, and as the divine providence had prepared it for the occasion. For that purpose human speech was a necessary vehicle, and accordingly the Greek language had been built up through the ages and prepared for the needed use. And as it was manifestly adapted to that purpose, so also it alone was available. The Hebrew was always the opposite of a world-wide dialect; it had in its best days been the language of only a single isolated people, and now for more than three hundred years it has been a dead

language, confined exclusively to written treatises that could be read only by professional adepts. It was also in itself unfitted for the purpose in hand, for it never gave expression to the specifically Christian conception of religious truth and doctrine. It had rendered a valuable service in recording and transmitting to after times the things which aforetime God spake tothe fathers by the prophets; but as even the prophets themselves attained to only an imperfect appreciation of the great truths that they uttered, their language was not adapted to express to a remote generation trained to other modes of thought things so transcendently beyond its proper ideas. The Latin language of the age was still less fitted for such a It was essentially unspiritual—the embodied and crystallized thinking of an intensely materialistic people. Its unfitness to express other than materialistic and sensuous thoughts and ideas had been seen and felt; and it became the language of the Church only when the Church had degraded its thinking to its own low level. It was also in its widest extent a local language, and in its classical style and form it was the dialect of only a comparatively small number of specially learned orators, poets, and philosophers; for evidently the classical Latin was never the dialect of the Italian populace. and beyond Italy all forms of Latin was a foreign tongue.

The Greek language was not only in itself, by reason of its structure and its latent but effective ideality, the best suited of all the languages of the earth for the embodiment of the deep spiritual ideas of the Christian religion, but it was at that time much more nearly than any other-more so, indeed, than hsa ever been the case with any other living tongue—the language of the world. It had become the vehicle of the Old Testament, not only among the non-Jewish peoples on the Mediterranean Sea. but also in the Holy Land itself, for evidently it was used because best understood among the people by both our Lord and his disciples, and their quotations from the Old Testament are uniformly taken from the Septuagint; and in their ministrations, even in the interior provinces of Asia Minor, it appears that the apostles used the Greek language, and were understood by the people. This wide-spread use of one and the same language throughout the Roman Empire, and that language the one best suited to the purpose, is to be reckoned

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among the particulars of the divine arrangement of affairs for the more ready diffusion of the Gospel, which constituted the age of the advent of Christ, emphatically "the fullness of the time."

But while the Greek language was clearly and incomparably better fitted than any other to become the vehicle of divine truth, it is also equally clear that as it existed in its own literature, and in men's conceptions which it sought to express, even that tongue was quite incapable of adequately indicating the deep and sublime spiritual mysteries of the Gospel. The classical Greek, with all its beauty and richness, had no words nor forms of thought that could embody the deep mysteries of the Gospel of Christ; nor had the Alexandrian and Palestinian Greek given form to the spiritual thoughts that struggled for utterance in the mind and heart of the inspired apostle. His ideas were new in kind as well as in character, and they required a new language for their embodiment, and hence we have the peculiar diction and terminology of the Epistle to the Romans.

In the nature of things language is a later growth than the mental conceptions that it is designed to express, and words are simply the means by which ideas already formed are indicated. So, in the development of the truths and doctrines of the Gospel new ideas were engendered in the minds of the prophets and psalmists, and especially in those of the apostles, for the expression of which a proper vehicle of linguistic forms was needed. But human language uniformly appears, not as a creation, new and complete, but as a growth, and by the accommodation of old words to designate new ideas. It accordingly happens, because the ideas that arise from sensuous perceptions are foremost in the order of time, that metaphysical ideas are usually expressed by words that had a sensuous and materialistic origin. And for a like cause the terms used to express the purely spiritual truths of divine revelation are derived from the things of time and sense. And unless the ideas sought to be expressed have already been formed, at least in part, in the minds addressed, there will be a lack of apprehension of the sense intended to be conveyed. Thus we find that our Lord's discourses were not understood by his unspiritual hearers because of their lack of any adequate preconceptions of the things of which he spake. And so, when St. Paul came to present in

form, and in a comprehensive unity, the deep spiritual truths and doctrines of the Gospel, using the Greek language as his vehicle, he was compelled to apply his words in a widely accommodated sense, which, however, his readers were presumed to be able to interpret in their proper spiritual sense. because they were already in possession of the elementary thoughts to which they were applied. Nor had he, in this, to begin an entirely new process, for that language had already been used to express in a popular form the partially developed truths of revelation as originally written out in the Hebrew Scriptures, and afterward translated into the Greek of the Septuagint. And the language of that version had been largely suffused by the specifically spiritual elements of the Gospel, by the use made of it by Christ and his apostles, whose teachings were known in the Church. It now fell to St. Paul, in the providential economy of the development of the doctrines of Christianity, to thoroughly digest all the elements of truth that till then lay scattered throughout the previously existing Scriptures of both the Old and the New Testament, and which also were still embodied, unwritten, in the spiritual consciousness of believers. His language, therefore, even in its specifically spiritual and doctrinal application, was not entirely new. He used the forms of speech found in the Greek of the Old Testament as they had been interpreted by Christ himself, and by his apostles after him, and whose only partially revealed spiritual import they had detected and declared, and in the clear light of the Gospel had given to its words a deeper and broader significance than had been before suspected. These scattered elements of the sublimest truth were now to be collated, and articulated. and wrought into a harmonious unity-employing the vocabulary already in use, but more precisely and definitely in respect to the ideas to be expressed. This is done in all of Paul's epistles, but nowhere else so fully and comprehensively as in the Epistle to the Romans.

In all these writings the essentially Hebrew elements may be detected in their conceptions of the divine Person and character, which are distinct and definite, so that the Godhead is completely individualized, as is not the case in any of the ethnic theologies. And this revealed Godhead appears in his proper person, one and sole, not only in fact, but also, from the necessities

of his nature, which also demonstrate his infinity, in all his perfections. The Hebrew theism was essentially unique, for it alone expressed God's revelation of himself; and that form of essential theology passed, in its fullness and with much more luminous demonstration, into the New Testament—eminently into Paul's epistles. The divinely ordained forms of worship, as observed by the fathers, and afterward reduced to specific forms in the Hebrew ritual, reappear, as to the spiritual import of their symbolism, in the fully developed and constructively arranged doctrines of sacrifice and redemption by price, and of atonement by substitution; and these are clearly wrought out by this divinely instructed apostle. And as in the Old Testament the lessons of the prophets served to expound and illustrate the symbolism of the Levitical ritual, so it became the duty of the New Testament teachers to point out the unquestionable fulfillment of these prophecies by Christ in the scheme of Gospel grace. Herein is seen a verification of the sublime truth, that "the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy." In this we detect the largest, best, and most purely spiritual meaning of the saying, "Christ is the end of the Law." And to make this manifest is the object of which Paul never loses sight.

The apostle's Grecian mode of thought was especially needful for the proper elucidation of the essentially spiritual characteristics of the Gospel. The Hebrew mind appears to have been especially inclined to only objective conceptions and contemplations. It seemed to lack subjectivity and the power of introspection, and in its outlook it was inclined to take cognizance of only externals, while the religion of Christ is eminently spiritual, and the knowledge of it requires habits of subjectivity and introspection—an element in which the Greeks especially excelled. Their purely metaphysical conceptions of the true, the beautiful, and the good became especially available when applied to the "truth as it is in Jesus," to "the beauty of holiness," and to that essential righteousness which is the living spirit of the Gospel, both in Christ's atonement and in the personal salvation of believers. But in all their speculations respecting the supersensuous elements in the human character, the Greeks uniformly failed to apprehend and appreciate the highest, and the only adequate, conception of real and

essential goodness—holiness, and its spiritual opposite—sin. To that conception the heathen mind never attained; it was a specialty of Hebrew thought, because only the Hebrew mind had been directly taught it by God himself. But this element was abundantly supplied from the Old Testament, and more clearly and forcibly by Christ's own words, and later by the writings of both St. John and St. Paul. The Hebrew conception of sin-itself a purely metaphysical something, contemplated and defined according to the Grecian methods of thought, is the ever-present background to the apostle's wonderful presentation of the divine holiness; and his scheme of the salvation of the Gospel takes in both of these spiritual and ethical enti-The concurrence of the Hebrew substance and the Grecian methods was requisite for the proper elucidation of that which the Holy Spirit teaches when he comes, according to the promise of the departing Christ, to "convict the world [in respect] of sin, and of righteousness, and of [the] judgment."

There is also prominently manifest in this epistle a specifically Roman method of thought, in its emphatical assertion of the universal presence and the sacred sovereignty of law-its rectitude and its unchangeableness. It allowed no transgression, nor condoned any offense. Its authority was the inseparable accompaniment of the march of Roman conquest, forming an atmosphere in all Rome's dominions, and before its tribunals only the righteous could be justified, and in respect to the guilty the sword of its power was not borne in vain. How these things make their impress upon the earlier portions of the Epistle to the Romans is obvious to every thoughtful reader, intensifying the sense of the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and showing that sinners shall not stand in the judgment. rugged Roman element gives to that inspired exposition of Gospel truth its authority over men's consciences. epistle is also specifically Roman in its subordination of the individual to the commonwealth. The human race is a great aggregate unity, in which, though the individual is not wholly lost, yet many of his highest interests are implicated in it. The head of the commonwealth of humanity is charged with the interests of the whole race, and so of every individual, who must gain or lose according as those interests in the hands that hold them are conserved or lost. Care is indeed taken to

affirm the powers and the responsibilities of the individual, but not so as to hide from our view the great truth of the solidarity of humanity; that in a highly important and practically effective sense the whole race of mankind was present in Adam's transgression and fall, and also in Christ's sacrifice and redemption both effective and previously

tion, both effective and provisional.

The readers of this epistle will therefore do well to remember these things while seeking the deep import of what they read. Especially must a careful attention be steadily directed to the sense of the leading terms of the writings; and here neither the lexicons nor the best writing in the Greek anthology will be found to be adequate guides. When the apostle speaks of law, it may be according to either the Roman or the Mosaic conception, or perhaps, in a higher and broader sense, corresponding to the "Wisdom" of the eighth of Proverbs or the "Logos" of St. John; and whichever may be its sense in any given case must be clearly determined by its connections. When he speaks of sin we are carried beyond the classical notion of missing the mark, of misdirected actions, to something of a purely ethical character, which looks beneath the outward forms of mechanical actions or volitional purposes into the spiritual substratum of the soul, and in its own direct relations to God himself, the essentially holy One, and the righteous Judge of all men. And placing law and sin thus apprehended over against each other, the fearful and hopeless condition of the sinner before the law becomes fearfully manifest; so disclosing the necessity for another way of salvation than simply legal righteousness. At this point is introduced the fact of atonement by Christ, the death of the just for the unjust, to bring us to God and his salvation.

Atonement by sacrifice was a well understood Hebrew idea, clearly involving the notion of vicarious suffering and its resultant benefits to the party in whose behalf the sacrifice is made: or, as Robert Hall so well and ably puts the case, "the substitution of the innocent for the guilty," in the divine appointments for man's salvation. The symbolical actions ordained in the service of the bloody sacrifices clearly imply a figurative imputation of the sins of the party for whom the offering was made to the victim, and to this fact Isaiah evidently refers when in his Messianic prophecy he declares,

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"On him was laid the iniquity of us all," and "For the transgression of my people was he smitten." Paul's Hebrew methods of thought could not fail at this point to recognize a real substitution, and its appropriate results. His Roman conception of the estate of the lawful captive, and of the ransom price required for his liberation, would also serve him in this case, and by these must his words be interpreted when he declares, "Christ has redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us." And keeping in mind the everpresent realization of Christ's death for sinners, the way of salvation by faith, the "justification" that is "without the deeds of the law," stands forth self-defined in the light of the Gospel of salvation. The law contemplated a way of salvation by personal holiness of heart and life, which man could not render; this was its justification. The Gospel provides a substitute for this, identical in its substance and results, which the apostle calls by the same name. It is still justification, not by the law, but by the conditional instrumentality of faith, and resting ultimately on Christ's mediatorial sacrifice-a sinoffering appointed by the Father's grace. Here sin is seen in its real metaphysical nature and its intense ethical and legal badness. Here is the disposing and commutative righteousness of the divine Sovereign, appointing and accepting the atonement. Here is Christ's willing self-abnegation. Here is the ready faith of the humble and contrite sinner. This is the righteousness of the Gospel.

The epistle is in all its parts an exposition of certain great spiritual truths, and this should be steadily recognized in the interpretation of its language. It speaks of death; but the word is taken out of its merely temporal and physical sense, and employed to indicate a spiritual condition of separation from God and of deadness of soul to spiritual things, entailing present condemnation and tending to eternal ruin. This is the judgment of which the apostle says that it has come upon all men to condemnation. It speaks of sin as a quality and condition of the soul, under all sinful acts and thoughts of the flesh and the body, and predicated of these not in their material and physically corporeal being, but as forms of depraved and degenerate human nature, the seat of sin and the instrument of ungodliness. In St. Paul's nomenclature, the law is

spiritual, and the works of the law have their seat in the soul. Death is the condition of man in his fall, an alienation from God; his condemnation is the estimate placed on him, in his sin, by judicial holiness; his justification is his acceptance with God, in free pardon bestowed in honor of Christ's death, and in response to the sinner's own prayer of faith. The resurrection is the quickening of the soul with Christ, and eternal life is the state and condition of the renewed soul, continued into the interminable hereafter.

ART. IX.—THE LATE GENERAL CONFERENCE.

THE SITUATION, THE WORK, AND THE OUTLOOK.

THE nineteenth delegated General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was in session, in the city of Philadelphia, from the first to the twenty-eighth of May, 1884. It was composed of four hundred and sixteen delegates, from nearly a hundred Annual Conferences, of whom about three fifths were ministers and two fifths laymen. Of these, between thirty and forty were colored men, from Conferences within the old slave States; and nearly as many more were resident non-English-speaking foreigners, chiefly Germans, who have been organized into Conferences, mostly in the Western States. There were also some fifteen or sixteen delegates from foreign mission fields-Germans, Swedes, and Norwegians, with one Eurasian, and one full-blood Hindu from India, and one native African. It was said by some who had looked into the matter, that of the delegates present less than one half had been members of the General Conference of 1880, only a comparatively few of the others had been members in earlier sessions, and that nearly one half of the body was composed of new men. In age, they ranged from the thirties to the seventies, comparatively few being less than forty years old, and still fewer over seventy. One delegate (Rev. Dr. Trimble, of Ohio) had been in every General Conference since, and including that of, 1844; another had been in that of 1848, but not continuously since; and nearly a dozen had served in six, seven, or eight General Conferences. Of the laymen, three or more were serving for the fourth time, having been in each Conference since laymen were first admitted; and a still larger number, three times. The attendance was unusually full from the beginning to the end of the session, though some seats were occupied by "Reserves," and some who began with the session were excused, giving place to alternates. This was more especially the case with the laymen; but most of even these remained steadily at their

posts during the whole session.

The business of the Conference was conducted with remarkable system and regularity. During the first two days, morning and afternoon sessions were held, chiefly for organization and getting the body at its work. About a dozen "standing" committees—made up of one from each Annual Conference, so amounting to nearly a hundred members each—were ordered. each Annual Conference delegation selecting its own member: and to these committees were referred all matters relating to their various divisions of the work, to be considered and put into form for the definite and final action of the whole body. to which the findings of the committees were reported. After its complete organization, the Conference met only in the forenoon, giving up the rest of the day to the committees, and to public meetings in behalf of various societies and Church The completeness of its methods of working enabled the body to get through a vast amount of work in four weeks; as much, it has been estimated, as would occupy an ordinary legislative body three times that period, and yet to do it thoroughly and systematically. These committees held from seven to fifteen sessions, averaging three hours, besides giving out a large amount of details to sub-committees, and each brought back from ten to more than twenty separate reports. Probably a full half of the work was done in these committees. which often showed an attendance of seventy or eighty members, and were conducted as regular deliberative bodies, selforganized, with chairman and secretary, and conducted by the same rules as the General Conference itself. In them were often heard quite as able discussions as any had in the more public body, and, because of their greater freedom, a class of speakers were heard in them who seldom spoke in the Conference, and whose remarks were not less valuable than those of any others. The reports so prepared were usually accepted

and confirmed by the Conference; though in several notable instances they were overruled, and largely modified or entirely reversed or rejected. It was generally declared by those whose acquaintance with former General Conferences enabled them to make the comparison, that the methods of proceeding have steadily improved, and that those of the last were better than any former one, which seems to be proved by the unprecedented fact, that every report was duly disposed of with-

out resorting to a "grinding committee."

Respecting the personnel of the body, the estimate made by Bishop Simpson in his closing remarks was probably not far out of the way, when he said: "My conviction is, that there never has assembled, in the bounds of our Church, a more distinguished, a more able, and a more cultured body of delegates in the Methodist Episcopal Church." And certainly the ability and culture of the members were not more marked than were their prevailing good temper and courtesy. The debates-of ten minutes' speeches—were spirited and often able, though it was impossible within such limits to inquire into and discuss the characters and relations of the subjects in hand. But the limited time allowed made great condensation necessary, with the entire omission of both introductions and perorations. The speeches, too, taken singly, were only fragments of arguments, as only one or two points could be given by any one speaker, though two or three in succession, all on the same side, would sometimes make out a somewhat exhaustive discussion. This enforced brevity served also to prevent irrelevant and rambling talks and speeches addressed to Buncombe. It also, no doubt, served to preserve good temper and to prevent the intrusion of personalities, the absence of which was happily especially conspicuous. There was a good religious spirit pervading the body, as well as one of intense earnestness and devotion to business; and an apparent conviction that there was earnest work to be done. And yet the spirit of the body was distinctly hilarious, and both laughs and cheers were easily elicited.

Though there were so many new men in the body, yet any one familiar with former General Conferences could readily see that this was only a continuation of the series of sessions that began seventy-two years before. There were enough of those who had had experience in earlier sessions to give shape and fashion to the proceedings; and these, without any attempt at leadership, very naturally found themselves at the head of affairs; and the others, with equal and unpurposed readiness, fell into line and went forward. It was no doubt the leaders of former sessions that were chiefly re-elected to this; and these at first were the speakers, making motions and directing in the organization, and beginning the work. But the contingent of new men soon presented a fair share of ready speakers and apt parliamentarians, and many a veteran debater found it necessary to look out for his laurels in tourneys with some of these new-comers. A full share of the debating power was shown by the laymen, some of whom had had the experience of some three, and still more of two, previous General Conferences; and even some who now appeared for the first time showed themselves the equals of the best on the floor. body was especially independent and self-possessed—courteous, indeed, but evidently conscious of its power, and determined to discharge its duties without fear or favor.

The colored delegates constituted a notable element of the body. No one who had observed this class of delegates since their advent in 1868, when there were but two of them—and increasing each quadrennium till now there were nearly forty—could fail to be struck with the marked improvement made by them. They were really a good-looking body of men, well-dressed and well-behaved, with faces expressive of both intelligence and culture. And their conduct and manners, and especially their public performances, fully justified the promises of their appearance. They seemed to accept the position of equals among their brethren without ostentation or either cringing or undue self-assertion, and the same was accorded to them without apparent condescension.

In respect to the work taken in hand, it may be truly said that this was not a "reform" General Conference. There was an all-pervading but quiet sense of the wholesome condition of the Church, and of the generally satisfactory operation of its affairs. Whatever differences of views may have existed in the minds of delegates, no great question of Church polity seemed to be pending, nor were any wide changes of administration called for. It was very evident that the general polity

and workings of the Church were acceptable to the delegates, who also, certainly, in this fairly represented the prevailing and almost entirely undivided sentiments of both the ministry and laity of the Church. Probably the Church was never more completely at peace within itself than in this centennial year of its completed organic being. And this is the more remarkable because it had come about spontaneously, not by crushing out opposition or subduing minorities, but as the natural outgrowth of confidence and united Christian efforts for the common welfare. No word was heard in favor of doing away with or essentially modifying the Episcopacy; but, instead, it was all along assumed that this arm of the Church's power was to be preserved and cherished, and made as largely as possible effective. The Itinerancy was also steadily, though for the most part tacitly, assumed to be an essential feature of the system; and, as a rebound from certain propositions that had been made to modify that system in a way that some esteemed dangerous, the Conference declared, in the most formal and positive manner, that even to meet possible emergencies not the least change should be tolerated. In respect to Christian doctrines Methodists seldom have any difficulties; and accordingly, during all this session, not a word was heard about either fortifying the Church's standards or guarding against the encroachments of heresies. If, as has been said, the creed of Methodism is the consensus of its pulpits and other public teachings, these surely have found out an excellent way to preserve at once the Christian liberty and the orthodoxy of the body.

The quadrennial reports of the great financial, benevolent, and educational institutions of the Church made to the Conference formed a notable feature of the session. In every instance there had been progress; in some cases only moderate, and in others indicating remarkable successes. Relatively the increase of the Church's membership had been outstripped by the growth of nearly every other interest, and unprecedentedly large amounts had come to the various Church institutions, and especially to the schools and colleges of the Church, while very large sums had been expended in church building, and in the liquidation of debts upon houses of worship. The material progress of the Church had been simply marvelous; and the details of that progress, given in those reports, did not fail to

produce a most profound impression, and to establish the confidence of those who heard or read them in the substantial and wholesome growth of the great interests of the denomination. There can be no question that the delegates, comprising a large share of the leading ministers of the Church and representatives of the most effective class of the laity, returned to their homes more deeply than ever before impressed with the conviction of the effective progress of the Church's work, and the magnitude to which that work has grown; and the exhibits of these things as they shall go out to the people will there beget the same hopes and confidence. Certainly this Centennial General Conference brought a good report of work done and of much more to be done.

The work actually done may be estimated either as to its outward aspects, or its less obvious but deeper and broader significance. The election of four bishops, partly to supply the wastes made by death and disease, and partly to meet increasing demands, very naturally awakened much interest. The number four (no more) indicated the purpose of the Conference neither to diminish nor increase the relative working force of the Epis-The selection of individuals for the places was made by the free ballots of the delegates, without recognized partisan preference, and with but little respect to the claims of locali-The intimations sometimes heard about unseemly measures used to advance the successes of various candidates certainly did not appear on the surface; and while no doubt as good men were voted for and not elected as any that were chosen, even that fact is not an unmixed evil, as it left them free to serve the Church in other and, perhaps, not less important fields, and in some cases in places more difficult to fill. It is according to a well-recognized tendency in the affairs of aggregate associations of people, that with growth and advancing maturity the individual becomes less and less conspicuous. The first three or four Presidents of the United States stand out much more boldly in the nation's history than do their later successors, though some of these may have been quite their equals in all personal qualities. Greatness is commonly relative, and he who would have achieved renown in some conditions may live and die unknown. It is only natural-a sign of the real growth of the Church, and therefore not to be deprecated—that the Episcopacy is relatively a less force in the Church than it once was; nor is that relative position to be laid to the account of the incumbents of the office. Hereafter, probably, our Episcopacy will be somewhat more exclusively a working and administrative power than formerly; and yet, from the dignity of the position, and the power necessarily confided to the Executive during the long intervals between the General Conference sessions, the Methodist Episcopacy must continue to be

a very considerable factor in the Church's affairs.

But the strength of the Methodism of the future will continue to more and more concentrate itself in the Annual Conferences. In these primary synods of the traveling ministers the available power of the Church can be best and most effectively developed and brought into action; and according as these assemblies, made up of men each acting in his own individuality, shall well or ill appreciate their positions, and feel the spirit of their calling, will it be well or ill with the Church and with its work. And that it may be all that should be desired and expected, the esprit du corps of the body must be cherished and recognized by all. It is those men who do the hard work, accept the poor places, live and die in comparative obscurity, and pass on to superannuation without any adequate provision against want in age and helplessness, that, after all, contribute most to the Church's greatness and practical success. It devolves on these men to carry forward all the great enterprises of the Church, not only in the "cure of souls," but also in organizing and leading on the working forces, and in raising the supplies—the money power for driving the machinery. And as there must always be leaders where men act together, so in such bodies these must be found rather than appointed, and their commissions must be in themselves—their fitness for their places being duly recognized by their associates.

Another conviction that the looker-on at the General Conference would be sure to carry away with him is, that the lay element is becoming a great power in the counsels and the work of Methodism. Such, indeed, it always has been, but that force is becoming developed and brought into working In the General Conference the lay element, in most individual cases, labors under the disadvantages of want of familiarity with the methods of the body, and also with the

details of the Church interests to be cared for. The former of these, however, has been pretty effectually overcome in the cases of those who have been in attendance during a number of successive sessions, and others have rapidly acquired the needed facility of action. And as to the latter, some of the laymen manifested remarkable readiness in dealing with the questions in hand, and, especially in the committees, contributed a fair share to the practical handling of the subjects to be dealt with. But the interesting point demonstrated is, that all over the land, even in the most distant parts, are found laymen who are ready to devote their time and labor and money for the sake of the Church, and who, simply as samples of a large and increasing class, are giving their studies and labors to

the interests of religion.

In the proceedings of the Conference three subjects of special interest came into view: the work in the Southern States, and the race questions involved: the condition and administration of foreign missions; and the relations of the Church to the great moral issues of the times. Respecting the first of these, the Church has, all along, had a well-defined policy, to wit, that all its members shall stand upon an exact equality before its laws, and to this policy it has sought faithfully to conform its administration. But race prejudices are a social element of such far-reaching power that they cannot be altogether ignored. Accordingly, churches and conferences and schools have been organized virtually, if not in legal form, on the "color line," and to this arrangement both races have assented, while the Church, in its general administration, has accepted the fact, because those concerned desired it. But lest this form of administration might be construed as abridging the rights of some of the members of the Church in certain churches or institutions, it was broadly and emphatically declared "that this General Conference declares the policy of the Methodist Episcopal Church to be, that no member of any society within the Church shall be excluded from public worship in any and every edifice of the denomination, and no student shall be excluded from instruction in any and every school under the supervision of the Church, because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." "Mixed" churches and schools may not be the rule in practice, but if not, the

reason is not in the law, but the local administration accepted by both parties.

The subject of the foreign missions, their administration and their relations, present and prospective, to the home Church, was among the most important and interesting of those that came before the Conference, and it was not without its perplexities. Many of those missions have grown to such proportions that it is not an easy matter to administer their affairs, simply as missions, from the central office in New York.

Most of them have been constituted Annual Conferences, and this has rendered their administration in some things the more anomalous. In all these cases the missions and churches that make up such Annual Conferences also constitute a kind of national Methodism in their several countries. The whole tendency of their normal growth is to become individualized, and that would call for, first, autonomy, and then independent selfsupport. But for these, neither the missions nor the Church at home appeared to be ready. To meet the demands of the case, at least in part, it was proposed to fix episcopal residences in some of the foreign fields, a measure for which a clear majority of the Conference voted, but it failed by the dissent of a majority of the lay delegates, voting by orders. But even that was confessed by its supporters to be only a temporary expedient, while complete individualization and final organic separation was generally confessed to be the goal to which they must come at length. But it was doubted whether the time for that consummation had arrived, and therefore it was thought best to leave things substantially as they have been for four years more, with the full conviction that then something more decisive must be undertaken and executed.

Respecting the great moral questions of the day, Methodism has always been outspoken and ready to give its moral support to every good cause. Three of these now came under consideration—Temperance, the Sabbath, and Divorce—and on all of these plain and earnest words were spoken, and the chief council of the Church fully indorsed and emphasized the utterances of its pulpits and the press on these vastly important subjects. On all these a great fight is impending, and it is well that the voice of the highest assembly of the Church should have spoken out in no uncertain tones.

The publishing interests of the Church were, of course, reviewed, but no considerable changes were inaugurated. Financially, those interests appear to be in a decidedly satisfactory condition, more so than at any former General Conference: the work done also shows a large aggregate of books and periodicals produced and disposed of; and vet it is apparent that the growth of this department of the Church's work is not keeping pace with the progress of the Church itself, or of some others of its interests. No doubt Methodists are using a much larger portion of both books and periodicals not of our own press than was formerly the case—a fact perhaps not to be deprecated; and yet some were not satisfied that even this might not be made otherwise, to the advantage of both publishers and buyers and readers. Especially in the department of magazine literature, now grown to vast proportions in the general trade, except in the Sunday-school department almost nothing has been done for a long time by our publishers; and in the general book business there seems to be no adequate method in use for bringing the books, when published, within the reach of the public.

The Conference closed in good order, and with a pretty full quorum, at the end of the twenty-fourth day's session, (not counting Sundays,) with its work all done—an end that was accomplished only by rushing many things to a vote with undesirable, if not unnecessary, haste, and often without any adequate discussion. But this evil was really less than it seemed, since nearly every thing had been thoroughly examined and discussed in committee, and the Conference only confirmed what had been already settled by those who had fully considered it. And so the General Conference of 1884 passed into history. It was a good session, excellent in spirit, devout, orderly, (except through excess of vivacity,) exceedingly good-tempered, zealous for the good name and prosperity of the Church, intensely denominational but not narrowly sectarian, full of faith in the agencies of the Church, and largely hopeful as to its future.

ART. X.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1884. (Philadelphia.)—1. Plurality of Worlds; by Rev. J. De Concilio. 2. Nature of the Human Soul; by Rev. J. Ming, S.J. 3. Improvement in Parochial Schools; by Rev. H. A. Brann, D.D. 4. Waning Influence of the English Universities; by A. F. Marshall, B.M., Oxon. 5. The Mormon Question and the United States Government; by Bryan J. Clinche. 6. The Propaganda Question and Our Duty; by Rev. Bernard O'Reilly, L.D. 7. Life and Times of Frederic II.; by Prof. St. George Mivart, F.R.S. 8. Prince Bismarck's Conflict with the Catholic Church; by H. J. Henser. 9. The Coming Plenary Council of Baltimore; by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. 10. Sociological Aspects of Christian Charity; by A. de G.

Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1884. (Oberlin, Ohio.)—1. The Divine Personality; by James H. Fairchild, D.D. 2. The Irrepressible Conflict, (of American Slavery;) by Dr. H. von Holst, Ph.D. 3. Heredity and Depravity; by Stuart Phelps, Ph.D. 4. The Messianic Views of Christ's Contemporaries; by Rev. Prof. George H. Schodde, Ph.D. 5. The Theology of Canon Mozley; by Charles F. Thwing. 6. The Inspiration of the Old Testament; by Rev. I. P. Warren, D.D. 7. The Prophets of Israel and Place in History to the Close of the Eighth Century B. C. Eight Lectures by W. Robertson Smith, LL.D; by Rev. Israel E. Dwinell, D.D. 8. Recent Evangelistic Movements in Great Britain and on the Continent; by Samuel Ives Curtis, D.D. 9. The Niagara Gorge as a Chronometer; by Rev. G. Frederic Wright. 10. Assyrian Research, and Hebrew Lexicon; by Prof. D. G. Lyon, Ph.D. 11. Exegetical Note—Translations of the Aorist Tense in the Indicative Mood—Dr. Ladd on Alleged Discrepancies and Errors of the Bible.

CATHOLIC WORLD, (Monthly,) April, 1884. (New York.)—1. The Workman and his Little Sister; by Kathleen O'Meara. 2. Bancroft's History of the United States; by R. H. Clarke, LL.D. 3. The Wisdom and Truth of Wordsworth's Poetry, (II;) by Aubrey de Vere. 4. By-ways; by Marion A. Taggart. 5. New Mexico and her Pueblos; by the Very Rev. J. H. Dufouri. 6. Armine, (Chaps. xxxix-xlii;) by Christian Reid. 7. An Impudent Fabrication Exposed; by Rev. George Dishow. 8. The Delicacy of Shakespeare; by R. M. Johnson.

May, 1884.—1. The Catholic Law of Marriage; by Rev. A. F. Hewit. 2. Hong-Kong; by H. Y. Eastlake. 3. Katharine, (Chapters i, ii;) by E. G. Martin.
4. Evolution in the Light of Recent Researches; by Cornelius O'Leary, M.D.
5. The Wisdom and Truth of Wordsworth's Poetry, (III;) by Aubrey de Vere.
6. Histories and Catechisms; by Monsignor Preston. 7. Spring in the North; by Margaret F. Sullivan. 8. Armine, (Chaps. xliii-xlvi;) by Christian Reid.
9. The Building of the Mountain; by William Seaton.

June, 1884.—1. Darwin's Mistake; by Rt. Rev. F. S. Chatord, D.D. 2. The New Flagelants; by Inigo Deane. 3. The "Leading Article" in English Journalism; by A. F. Marshall. 4. The Very Last Centenary of Protestant Isms; by Rev. Thomas J. Jenkins. 5. The Wisdom and Truth of Wordsworth's Poetry; (IV;) by Aubrey de Vere. 6. The Isle of Thanet and Its Straits; by M. P. Thompson. 7. My Espousals. 8. In and Around the Magdalen Islands; by A. M. Pope. 9. Katharine, (Chaps. iii, iv;) by E. G. Martin. 10. Religious Liberty, as Understood by the "Evangelical Alliance;" by Rev. George M. Searles. 11. Paul. From the Polish of H. Sienkiewiezlitwes; by W. R. Thompson. 12. Honest Protestants and the Public Schools; by Rev. Walter Elliot.

- CHRISTIAN REVIEW, January, 1884. (Cincinnati.)—1. The New Testament Greek; by Pres. Chas. Louis Loos. 2. The Controversy Between Science and Religion; by Pres. W. K. Pendleton. 3. The New Testament Idea of Righteousness; by Robt. T. Matthews. 4. The Genuineness of the Pentateuch—W. Robertson Smith; by Thomas Munnell. 5. Christian Missions; by F. M. Green, 6. The Spirits in Prison, 1 Pet, iii, 19; by H. Christopher. 7. Reply to Clark Braden; by A. Wilford Hall. 8. The Revised English New Testament; by H. Turner.
- April, 1884.—1. The New Testament Canon; by the Editor, (E. W. Herndon.)
 2. Justification by Faith; by A. I. Hobbs.
 3. The Holy Catholic Church; by C. Q. Wright.
 4. Certain Infidel Objections Answered; by Clark Braden.
 5. Can We Divide? by J. H. Garrison.
 6. The Substantial Philosophy; by A. Wilford Hall.
 7. The Doctrine of the Epistle to the Romans, (Chap. i, 16;) by I. B. Grubbs.
- PRESEYTERIAN REVIEW, April, 1884. (New York.)—1. Rev. Dr. James Richards and his Theology; by Prof. Ransom B. Welch, D.D. 2. The Ontological Argument for the Divine Existence; by Prof. William T. Shedd, LL.D. 3. The Unity of the Apocalypse with Reference to Dr. Volter's Strictures; by Prof. Benj. B. Warfield, D.D. 4. The Consensus of the Reformed Confessions; by Prof. A. A. Hodge, D.D. 5. Dr. Stanton on Healing Through Faith; by Rev. Marvin R. Vincent, D.D.
- QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, April, 1884. (Nashville, Tenn.)—1. The Witness of the Spirit; by Bishop H. N. M'Tyeire, D.D. 2. Method and Aim of Mathematical Physics; by W. B. Smith, Ph.D. 3. Women of Shakespeare; by Mrs. Lucia Porter Lander. 4. Unconscious Orthodoxy; by Rev. W. Harrison. 5. Early Christianity—How Propagated; by J. Thomas Pate. 6. Quixotism in Philosophy; by Rev. W. C. Black. 7. Rationale of Christian Atonement; by Rev. R. Abbey, D.D. 8. Manliness of the Pulpit; by Rev. F. M. Edwards. 9. Future Mission of Methodism; by Rev. J. B. Robbins. 10. Janet's Theory of Morals; by the Editor.
- Unitarian Review, and Religious Magazine, June, 1884. (Boston.)—1. The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; by Rev. W. R. Alger. 2. A Few More Words about Dr. Dewey; by Rev. Edward F. Hayward. 3. The Authority of our Faith; by Rev. Charles F. Dole. 4. Translations of Virgil; by M. Grant Daniel. 5. Twenty Years in the Life of a Queen; by Rev. Robert Collyer. 6. Mr. Cooke's George Eliot; by Rev. J. T. Sunderland.
- Baptist Quarterly Review, April, May, June, 1884. (Cincunati.) 1. The Curse upon Nature; by Franklin Johnson, D.D. 2. Limitations of Taxation; by J. L. M. Curry, LIL.D. 3. Emotional Excitement in Preaching; by H. F. Kerfoot, D.D. 4. Natural Law in the Spiritual World; by Wayland Hoyt, D.D. 5. The Moral Element in Providence; by Henry M. King, D.D. 6. Baptists and Liberty of Conscience—The English Baptists, 1644—1689. 7. Biblical Theology: Its Nature, Presuppositions, Methods, and Perils; by Prof. Albert H. Newman, LL.D.

The first article above named discusses a subject that is just now in a somewhat unsettled condition in the public mind. Men are doubting, and beginning to ask whether or not there is cause to believe that the "fall" was the direct occasion of any changes in the physical world. The affirmative side of this question has been the common doctrine of Protestantism from the beginning, and learned theological and biblical writers have given to it the authority of their names, and the aid of their learning and genius, and till comparatively

lately it would have been accounted almost a heresy to call it in question. But men who think independently are beginning to ask whether any, and if any, what, are the changes that came upon the material earth on account of Adam's transgression.

The old divines and commentators, who thought and wrote without the inconvenience of scientific facts to interfere with their theories, assumed that all sorrow and suffering in the animal world, and especially all deaths, were the fruits of Adam's sin. It is quite certain that Milton, who was simply the interpreter of the thought of his times, so presents the case in the opening lines of "Paradise Lost," assuming that by the "death" which was brought into the world by "the mortal taste" of the "forbidden tree" that of all and every species of animals is intend-It was also held that the convulsions of nature, earthquakes and volcanoes, floods and tempests, animal ferocity, the poison of serpents, and the stings of bees, thorns and thistles, toil and hunger, are facts in the world of which man's transgression was the procuring cause. But the demonstrations of natural science, and a better interpretation of Scripture, together with the more rational methods of thinking that distinguish our times, have largely interfered with these traditional beliefs. Men are now asking, What about these things? and, like the "more noble" Bereans, are searching the Scriptures to ascertain for themselves what they teach on this subject.

The above article is a result of this newly awakened spirit of inquiry, and it is evidently the utterance of a mind only halfway emancipated from the toils of traditional presuppositions. The writer sets out with the concession that physical suffering and death antedated man's transgression, and that almost absolutely certainly they were made sure to occur by the original creation of carnivorous animals, which certainly in the older geological era, untold ages before man, could live only by causing the death of other animals. The increase of animals by births also supposes the deaths of the older ones-by violence, or disease, or old age—and the history of this process of dying is written in clearly legible characters on the earth's tables of stone. To harmonize these things with the notion that all animal suffering must be the result of man's sin, we have the fanciful theory of anticipatory penalty—the infliction of the curse before the commission of the offense, and, indeed,

long ages before the offender was created—a theory favored by Dr. Bushnell, though perhaps not original with him, but whose genius imparted to it a glamour which seemed to hide its baselessness and absurdity. Any rational consideration of the subject must lead to the sure conviction that so much and such kind of suffering as pertains to the life and death of irrational animals existed long before the sin of Adam, and as certainly it is not in any possible way caused by it. And the old notion, that the convulsions of nature and all kinds of cosmical and meteorological disorders are in any way the result of Adam's transgression, (see Wesley's sermon on "The Restitution of all Things," and Fletcher's "Appeal,") must be dismissed as purely fanciful—the late lingering traces of the unreasoning superstition of the Dark Ages.

Two portions of Scripture are relied on as the sole authority in this case—Genesis iii, 17-19, the divine curse pronounced upon Adam; and Romans viii, 19-23, the humiliation and hope of "the creature." Respecting the former of these, the writer of the Review article concludes, (so far wisely,) that all the changes that occurred by which the curse was realized were not in the earth and nature, but in man himself, whose changed conditions, which his sin effected, so changed his relation to his environments that what had been a blessing became a curse. But when the writer comes to interpret the statement in Romans he is decidedly less successful. Here, no doubt, every thing depends on the sense of the word rendered "the creature," (κτίσις.) Of the many meanings given to that word, as used by St. Paul, by commentators and theologians, only two need be noticed: (1) that which refers it to the whole human race, aggregate Man, and (2) that which makes it mean Nature, inert matter and irrational animal creation. Of these two the above writer accepts the latter, while we should, without any misgivings, take the former. So understood, St. Paul teaches that humanity (man) is waiting in "earnest expectation" for the divine manifestation which shall reveal its sonship with God, and that the divine will, in the mysterious dispensation of his goodness, subjected man to "vanity"—vicissitudes—through which his instinctive aspirations for immortality shall be realized; that for the time being universal humanity is travailing in the birth-throes by which it is to rise into a

higher life, and that even Christians, though born of the Spirit, are still in this transition, "waiting for the adoption." This is substantially the view taken by a large share of the very best commentators, both ancient and modern. Of the latter may be named, among others, Stuart and Hengstenberg. This interpretation, of course, entirely excludes any reference to the outer world, and saves the word "creature" from its unelevated

application to merely brute-beasts-cattle.

In this subject is also involved the question of the nature of the penalty of sin threatened before the transgression, and realized through it—that is, death. Should it be understood as physical or spiritual? The former, no doubt, has been the faith of the Church, at least as it has been commonly received through nearly its entire history. But will it bear the clear light of the rational interpretation of Scripture? That spiritual death passed upon man in the day he sinned will not be doubted, and that from the death superinduced by sin, as stated by St. Paul, spiritual death must not be excluded, will also be granted; and if shut up to this alone, a well-rounded fullness of meaning is given to all that is predicated in the Scriptures referred to. Death was set forth as sure to occur upon the occurrence of the first transgression, and spiritual death certainly took place. The apostle declares that by that first offense sin entered into the world, bringing also death, which is certainly true as to spiritual death. Did that curse also include the death of the body?

This leads to the further inquiry, whether or not that transition of "the creature" (commonly called "death") by which the spiritual being—which is the only proper personality—becomes detached from its physical investiture, is a consequence of the "fall." In the article referred to there is a supposition that not improbably such a change was contemplated in man's original constitution, and that without sin man might have outgrown his earthly vestments, and by a painless process passed into a higher state; and this is substantially a granting that physical death was the original destination of Adam and all his posterity, and that not natural death itself, but its painful acci-

dents, occur as the results of sin.

Bishop Foster's statement will not be called in question, that "all physical life is in its nature perishable, and wherever found 37—FOURTH SERIES, VOL. XXXVI.

to exist, and as soon as it exists, and as an inseparable concomitant of its existence, it tends to extinction, and must inevitably, by the operation of its law, reach extinction. Nothing short of eternal miracle, set for the guardianship of each life, would guarantee its deathless continuance. When it shall succumb to the wastes and assaults of other unfriendly forces is only a question of limited time."

This is not a novel position, and to meet the demands of the case the necessary "eternal miracle" is supposed to be provided—for in the "tree of life." It is assumed that the use of that tree was sacramental, of course effective ex opere operato, to overcome the natural flux of the body, or to repair its waste, not necessarily to render it intrinsically immortal, but by perpetually counteracting the natural tendencies to decay to effectually hinder dissolution.

But as has been said elsewhere, "this whole affair of the 'tree of life' has the appearance of an attempt at wisdom quite beyond the range of what is written. It is artificial and extrascriptural, and seems to have been entertained only because it helps to solve, conjecturally, a difficult problem—made so by an unsupported theory—by putting an altogether unwarranted meaning into a doubtful passage of Scripture."

The subject calls for a fuller inquiry and a more elaborate discussion than it can here receive, and quite certainly it will receive such handling from some one, or many, in the near future. The questions involved are not between orthodoxy and heresy, but they are simply about the meaning of the words and phrases of Holy Scripture, and the trend of thought among evangelical Christians respecting the great problems of providence and grace—of God's eternal purposes in the redemption and glorification of "the creature"—man.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, April, 1884. (New York.)—1. Decline of American Shipping; by N. Dingley, Jr., M.C., and John Codman. 2. Shall our Civilization be Preserved? by Judge J. A. Jameson. 3. The Development of Religious Freedom; by Rev. Dr. Philip Schaft. 4. Changes of the Climate of North America; by Dr. Felix L. Oswald. 5. A Plea for Modern Languages; by Prof. C. A. Eggert. 6. Literature for Children; by Julian Hawthorne. 7. Recent Criticisms of the Bible; by the Rev. A. G. Mortimer and the Rev. Dr. R. H. Newton.

<sup>May, 1884.—1. Defective Naturalization Laws; by Justice William Strong.
2. Matthew Arnold; by Edwin P. Whipple.
3. A Zone of Worlds; by Richard A. Proctor.
4. The Railway and the State; by Gerrit L. Lansing.
5. Illustrations of Memory; by Prof. H. F. Osborn.
6. The Meaning of Song; by</sup>

Helen Kendrick Johnson, 7. Working-Men's Grievances; by William Godwin Moody and Prof. J. L. Loughlin.

June.—1. Harboring Conspiracy; by Prof. Henry Wade Rogers.
Lords of Industry; by Henry D. Lord.
The Struggle for Immortality; by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps.
Sociological Fallacies; by Prof. W. G. Sumner.
Rise and Fall of Authority; by President J. C. Welling.
Walt Whitman; by Walker Kennedy.
Expert Testimony; by Rossiter Johnson, and others.

July.—1. Juries and Jurymen; by Judge Robert C. Pitman.
2. American Economics; by Prof. Van Beuren Denslow.
3. Marriage and Divorce; by Justice Noah Davis.
4. The Annexation of Canada; by Dr. P. Bender.
5. Government Telegraphy; by Prof. D. M'G. Means.
6. Private Vengeance; by Charles T. Congdon.
7. The Future of the Negro; by Prof. C. A. Gardiner, and others.

In the last of the above articles we have what has, in other cases, been denominated a "symposium;" ten different writers, of widely different sentiments and modes of seeing the subject, discuss the negro problem, each from his own standpoint. Professor Charles A. Gardiner first gives some of the chief elements of the problem, the numerical increase of the race, their intellectual and moral improvement, and the certainty of their continuance, with wise and hopeful suggestions respecting their future. Senator John T. Morgan follows with a fire-eater's tirade against the negro and all who care for him, except as a beast of burden, with a general assumption that he is rapidly going to the bad. Frederick Douglass glances at the subject, recognizing its dangers, but still hoping, though apparently against hope. Senator Vance, of North Carolina, writes in a much better spirit than his colleague from Alabama, refers in uncomplimentary terms to his political associations, but indulges in no prophecies. Joel Chandler Harris writes learnedly, perhaps wisely, and suggests considerations that all parties may well consider. Professor R. T. Greener treats the subject from the stand-point of an educated colored man; confirms its difficulties and suggests things needed, and is on the whole Oliver Johnson is characteristically positive and hopeful, because he assumes that the negro will vindicate his claims to respect, which in due time will be freely awarded. General Armstrong, of the Hampton School, writes discreet. ly, hopefully, yet not wholly with assurance. J. H. Walworth and J. A. Emerson, speaking for their race, express strong confidence in their future.

All who allude to the subject agree that there is no reason that the colored population of the country is at all likely to become relatively less than it now is, and not unlikely large parts of the old slave States will become very largely Africanized. All agree that the less they have to do with politics the better for themselves and their race. Respecting the natural results of miscegenation, which all deprecate, there is wide disagreement. Our own view is not in accordance with that usually so confidently assumed, that the intermingling of races tends to physical, mental, or moral deterioration. It is quite plain that the wisest men find themselves entirely at a loss as to what is to come out of the whole thing. But the Lord reigns.

We are not, however, compelled to wait, building our hopes entirely upon our faith in what the Lord will bring about in some unthought-of way. That transition from slavery to freedom has been made, and its immediate results belong to history, and these have largely justified the hopes of those who sought for the destruction of slavery. That the physical condition of the negroes in freedom is not worse than it was in slavery is proved by the rapid increase of the ratio of births over deaths; and that their labor has not become less valuable is shown by the statistics of production in the South. Both of these facts make it probable that there has not been any marked moral deterioration, and other patent facts and statistics confirm this view. That, on the whole, the intellectual status of the race is higher after twenty years of freedom than at any previous time is perhaps universally conceded, and certainly it cannot be denied. No doubt the Africo-American is very far from being an absolutely perfect being; it may even be granted that his intellectual and moral status is a low one, and yet it need not be concluded that he is worse than others in like conditions, and that some decided advancement has been made toward improvement.

JOURNAL OF CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY, April, 1884. (New York.) — 1. Reason and Revelation; by A. J. F. Behrens, D.D. 2. The Resurrection of Christ an Historical Fact; by Prof. Benjamin B. Warfield, D.D. 3. Prayer and Miracle in Regard to Natural Law; by Rev. L. W. Bacon. 4. ΔΙΔΕΚΑ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ, ΝΥΝ ΠΡΟΤΟΝ ΕΚΔΙΔΟΜΕΝΗ ΥΠΟ ΦΙΛΟΘΕΟΥ ΒΡΥΈΝΝΙΟΥ, ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΜΗΛΕΙΣ. 5. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, (Translation;) by Prof. S. Stanhope Orris, Ph.D. 6. The Genuineness, Priority, Source, and Value of "The Teaching;" by J. Rendel Harris, M.A. 7. The Phraseology of "The Teaching;" as an Index of its Age; by Isaac H. Hall, LL.B. 8. Comments on "The Teaching;" by Elijah R. Craven, D.D. 9. Sources of Christian Archæology; by A. L. Frothingham, Jr.

It will be seen that a large share—Articles IV to VIII, inclusive—is devoted to the newly discovered Greek MS. called

"The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles." Articles IV and V, the former the Greek text and the latter a translation, occupy opposite pages, so presenting at a glance the original and its equivalent in English. The next three articles, VI, VII, VIII, each by a different author, discuss the document in relation to the several points by which its character and value must be determined. That their work is well and ably done the reputations of the writers is a guarantee, and "The Teaching," under their inquest, is shown to be an exceedingly valuable "find," almost certainly genuine, in tone and substance very nearly akin to the apostolical writings, a catholic epistle in its character, and quite in harmony with the undoubtedly canonical epistles. It is the most valuable discovery of its class since that of the Codex Sinaiticus by Tischendorf, and its discovery suggests the thought that further researches through the libraries of the Orient may lead to other equally valuable revelations. Two results may be anticipated as pretty sure to come out of such further unearthing of ancient authorities: (1) that the notion of the exceptional purity of the average Christians of the early Church will scarcely be maintained; and (2) the claim that a certain arrangement of ministerial orders is of apostolic origin, and was fully recognized as of divine appointment in the earliest ages of the Church, will not be confirmed by their "teaching."

English Reviews.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, April, 1884. (London.)—1. Perfect Sanctification; by Rev. Prof. Croskery, (Magee College, Londonderry.) 2. Theories of the Atonement, "Moral Influence," and "Satisfaction;" by Rev. R. G. Balfour, (Edinburgh.) 3. Studies in Scottish Ecclesiastical Biography: Professor Simson, the Glasgow Heresiarch; by Rev. C. G. M'Crie, (Ayr.) 4. The Lake of Geneva, and its Literary Associations; by Rev. Hugh Macmillan, D.D., LL.D., (Greenock.) 5. Professor Max Müller on the Origin and Growth of Religion; by Prof. S. H. Kellogg, D.D., (Alleghany, Pa.) 6. Theories of Inspiration; by Alvah Hovey, D.D., (Newton, Mass.) 7. Some Race Problems in China; by J. A. P.

British Quarterly Review, April, 1884. (London.)—1. Mechanical Philosophy. 2. Frederick Denison Maurice. 3. Father Curci and the Vatican. 4. The House of Lords since 1832. 5. Dictionary Making, Past and Present. 6. Re-Housing the Industrial Classes. 7. Non-Conformity and the Universities—Free Churches and a Theological Faculty.

Edinburgh Review or Critical Journal, April, 1884. (Leonard Scott Publishing Company, Philadelphia.) — 1. Memoirs of Lord Lyndburst. 2. Stephens's History of the Criminal Law. 3. The Chronicle of James I. of Aragon. 4. Green's Conquest of England. 5. The Scottish Universities. 6. Heth and Moab. 7. The Unity of Nature; by the Duke of Argyll. 8. Sayce's Herodotus. 9. The Coming Reform—Egypt.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, (Wesleyan,) April, 1884. (London.)—1. Through Materialism to Idealism; by Frederic Albert Lange.

3. Drummond's Natural Law in the Spiritual World.
4. Renan's Recollections of his Youth. (Translated from the French.)
5. Bishop Martensen.
6. East Anglia.
7. The Salutation of the Riseng Son.
8. Egypt.

Westminster Review, April, 1884. (Leonard Scott Publishing Co., Philadelphia.)—1. The Samson-Saga, and the Myth of Herakles. 2. The Censorship of the Stage. 3. Lord Lyndhurst. 4. Representation and Misrepresentation. 5. The Queen's Latest Book. 6. Co-operation or Spoliation. 7. Codification of English Law: a Retrospect and a Prospect. Independent Section: Compulsory Vaccination. Contemporary Literature: (1) Theology. (2) Philosophy. (3) Politics, Sociology, Voyages and Travels. (4) Science. (5) History and Biography. (6) Belles-Lettres. India and Our Colonial Empire.

German Reviews.

Theologische Studien und Kritiken, (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1884. Third Number.—Essays: 1. Usteri, Calvin's Doctrine of the Sacrament and Baptism. 2. Usteri, The Position of the Strasburg Reformers, Bucer and Capito, to the Question of Baptism. Thoughts and Remarks: 1. Schultz, A Modern Apologetic Question in the Ancient Garb. 2. Franke, 2 Cor. vi, 14-vii, 1, and the First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. v. 9-13. 3. Koldewey, The First Effort for a Justification of the Bigamy of the Landgrave Philip of Hesse. 4. Buchwald, The Conflict of Luther with the Wittenberg Chapter, 1523-24. Reviews: 1. Cremer, Theological Dictionary of the New Testament Greek; Reviewed by Grimm. 2. Kolde, Analecta Lutherana; Reviewed by Knaake. 3. Kolde and Koldewey, Publications of the Society for the History of the Reformation, Nos. 1 and 2; Reviewed by Kawerau. 4. A Circular Letter of the Supreme Protestant Consistory of Berlin, Concerning the Revision of the Luther Bible.

The entire body of this number of the Review is absorbed by two articles by Usteri, a Protestant pastor of Switzerland in the Canton of Zürich. That so much space is given to the one subject of the baptismal teachings of the early reformers is a striking proof of the deep hold that the ceremony of baptism has taken on the German heart. This ordinance of the Church may be said to have been at one time almost universal with the German nature, whether Christian or unchristian. And one who has lived for a time among them, and had an opportunity to see the inside of their social life, will find that parents who will reject every other Christian practice and ceremony still cling to this first one of the early Christians. Especially among

the poorer classes the fear is so great that the new-born child may die without the performance of the ceremony, that an unseemly haste is often exhibited in hurrying the tender infant to the baptismal font, that its claim on future salvation may not be forfeited by any dilatory action on the part of the parents. And there are cases on record where, in instances of difficult and dangerous parturition, involving a risk to the life of the yet new-born child, a species of ante-natal baptism has been performed.

And the popular heart has clung no more closely to this religious ceremony than have the various teachers of the Church at and since the period of the Reformation. Usteri finds it, therefore, fitting and advisable to give two articles on this subject. The first is devoted to the doctrine of Calvin concerning baptism, and the second to the position of the Strasburg Reformers and Zwingli. We can, of course, but simply touch the main points discussed in each case. One of the deepest thoughts of Calvin is that baptism is the sacrament of incorporation into Christ, with a share in all his wealth of grace. And this feature is not entirely wanting to Zwingli, but is brought out on the occasion of the baptism of Jesus by John. In the earlier and later writings of Zwingli, parallels for the most part of the doctrines of Calvin may be found, in so far as they illustrate the value of the sacrament as a symbolical representation, and not of a grace-imparting character in the narrower sense. Zwingli's dualism was opposed to the acknowledgment of the latter. Calvin clung closely to the double idea of baptism, which he called the "Mortificatio and the Ablutio." He claimed that baptism is a symbolum veritatis, namely, a symbol of truth that Christ shed his blood for us. Zwingli, baptism is more a reference to Christ with a moral aim. With Calvin, on the contrary, it is a testimony and accompanying seal of the entrance into Christ, through grace and faith, and the participation in all his gifts. According to Zwingli it is a symbolical guide from the outer court of the senses into the inner sanctuary of a life of grace. Calvin abolishes this dualism, and makes the sacrament belong to the sanctuary of the revelation of God, which, so to say, has its spirit and its body, its internal and its external side. It is nothing else than the external, but, therefore, not less divine, manifestation of

that which grace will internally effect for the practice and the strengthening of the faith.

The correspondence between the Strasburg theologians and Zwingli touches the baptismal question as early as 1524. publication of this date Bucer declares it to be a great error toascribe such effect to water baptism as to assert that unbaptized children are lost. He declares that a difference must be made between baptism with water and baptism with the Spirit: the former is simply the baptism of man, and is a mere symbol, while the latter is the baptism of Christ. In this sense the baptism of John and that of the apostles was alike; and here Bucer refers to Acts, 2d and 19th chapters, as to the character of the two baptisms. As to the water baptism, Bucer declares that it is performed in the name of Christ, or with the formula of the Trinity. Even the apostles, he says, distinguish sharply between the two kinds of baptism; Peter, for example, speaking of the saving power of baptism, declares that it is not alone an ablution from the filth of the flesh; while Paul points to it as an act of faith, and Titus as a renewal of the Holy Ghost. The entire tendency of the two lengthy articles is in sympathy with the modern inclination of German theologians, namely, that baptism by man is an external and very advisable ceremony, but not an indispensable one to the salvation of the

The circular letter of the Supreme Consistory of Berlin regarding the revision of the Luther Bible shows us how carefully and thoroughly they perform matters of this kind in Germany. The revision of the Old Testament was begun in 1871, by a commission of seventeen members, to perform this great and important work in eighteen conferences, each having from eight to ten sessions. A commission consisting of ten members for the revision of the New Testament was formed in 1865, and finished its work in 1870. A complete revision of the Old Testament was published by a Bible House in Halle, to which was added the revision of the New Testament, and the entire revision has been published under the title of the "Proof-Bible." It was a unanimous wish of all concerned in the revision and the printing of this new Bible that it should have the advantage of the judgment and the emendation of biblical scholars of all shades and specialties.

hoped that the judgments thus obtained may be of great interest and value; and therefore the Supreme Consistory at Berlin sends out this circular letter to all biblical scholars, praying that they may, at as early date as possible, send in the alterations and emendations that they suggest, that these may be considered and read for a third time by the Commission. This final revision will then be performed by sections, and finally in a full conference, so that every possible means will be adopted and all scholarly investigation be called into activity, with a view to make this revised Luther Bible as perfect as possible. The Supreme Consistory hopes by this mode to obtain the Word of God in a translation so perfect that it will form a mighty bond for the unity of German Protestant Christendom.

French Reviews.

Revue Chretienne, (Christian Review,) February, 1884.—1. Pressensé, Response to Prof. Bouvier. 2. Viguié, Zwingli. 3. Roehrich, On the Way-4. Nyegaard, English Chronicle. 5. Vinard, The Path. 6. Richemond, Bibliographical Notices. Reviews of the month by Pressensé.

March, 1884.—1. HOLLARD, The Sabbath. 2. Boegner, A New History of Coligny. 3. St. André, The Conquest of Africa. Monthly Review by Pressense.

April, 1884.—1. Hollard, The Sabbath. 2. Astré, The Fear of the Protestant Principle in the Ranks of French Protestantism. 3. Alone, Switzerland and its Poets. 4. Ménégoz, The Baptism of Children in Accordance with the Principles of Pauline Theology. 5. L. R., Biographical Notices. Review of the month by E. de Pressensé.

Since M. de Pressensé has become a member of a French Senate, the cream of the *Revue* will often be found in his monthly review of French political and social questions, in which he is not always in harmony with his religious and political friends. He is quite inclined to live up even to a bad law until it can be carefully and legally modified, and thus, for instance, he is now virtually supporting the Concordat because of the *quasi* protection that some of its provisions afford to French Protestants as well as to French Catholics. In the February number he touches with much spirit on the social problem in the reception that it lately met in the Chamber of Deputies. A Commission of Inquiry had been formed, with orders to report on the matter, with a view to some general discussion

before the Chambers, and Pressensé found it amusing as well as embarrassing to notice the different remedies proposed according to the different shade of politics of the Reporter.

To commence with the infinitely little, the Protectionists' Party declared that the problem would be solved and every thing settled if heavy duties were imposed: a good Customhouse on the frontier would suffice to settle the matter. Royalists' Party, represented by one of its champions, had simply this advice to give: "Take my king, and all will be saved." That portion of the Right which is still more Catholie than Royalist, especially since the death of the Count de Chambord, says: "Re-establish the power of the Holy Church, restore the old working corporations placed under its influence. and you will see again to flourish the golden age of the ancient monarchy." To which M. Frédéric Passy, one of the most distinguished of French economists, replied, by reminding the members of the character of this golden age, with the exception of a few privileged ones, namely, that the mass of the nation was deadened by poverty and ignorance while supporting the weight of the social edifice and paying with the sweat of its brow the gold that the king lavished on his favorites. Passy showed the unfavored condition of the working classes of our day in education and well-being. The President of the Council, in a labored discourse, presented a programme of the reforms immediately possible, and pointed out what part the government can take for the relief of the present suffering by the execution of great public works, which he strongly recommended.

M. Clémenceau, the Radical leader, touched all the social problems without casting much light on any of them, and leaving without immediate remedy a sum of sufferings and inequalities which are so much the more keenly felt because the progress of instruction has been more rapid. It is true, this progress increases the means of acquiring ease; but when this latter does not come with it, the privations are thereby made more painful. The civil equality now possessed by all sharpens the aspirations for social equality. The Republican Deputies who took part in this grave discussion insisted with reason, some on the necessity of hastening the reform of the imposts, still very unequally divided, and others on the development of the

prnciple of co-operation. The State Socialism, which would confine the social reform to the central power, and impose on it a system of colossal alms, did not find many representatives in the present Chamber. It therefore resulted from this peculiar debate, that the official world of France is very far from being as much imbued with the spirit of socialism as were the Republican assemblies of 1848. The chasm in this regard is very great between the present assembly and the working class, which it does not truly represent. This chasm can only be filled by a moral force which the politics of the day does not give, and by a genuine love for the weak and the suffering, combined with a spirit of justice and of liberty.

Pressensé seems to think that the only power that can solve the problem is, that love and pity for the multitude that was shown in olden time by the great Master when he fed the hungry, healed the sick, and encouraged the downcast. In this way, he believes, may come from the Church an inspiration which shall lead to the solution of the social question. But even what he has to say, although excellent as far as it goes, has a certain vague and unsatisfactory character that leaves the question about where it was found. Thus the many heads of France seem still incapable of doing more than presenting individual and conflicting opinions, with but little hope of arriving at harmony.

It is very certain that the Protestant Churches of France have nothing to expect or hope from the present dominant party, which seems quite ready to restrict its liberties and withhold its subsidies. It is to be hoped that in this crisis the Protestants will comprehend their present duty, and follow the wise counsels given to them by one of the most faithful friends of the Reformed Church in the conclusion of an admirable lecture which we find in the monthly review of the April number on "Christian Activity in the Bosom of French Protestantism." It is by M. Castelnau, on the separation of Church and State, and is so good and pointed that we must give it in his own words:

Some years ago this question would have been for us a fearful crisis; but to-day, if it is done without injustice, we shall find ourselves on the morrow what we were on the eve of the event, and we shall gladly pay for our independence. The material

condition of this independence is, in fact, a Synodal Treasury, the common fund of our churches, and the visible sign of their solidarity; our budget of worship destined to supplement the growing defections of the budget of the State, and take its place at the hour of separation. When our flock shall understand the influential role of the Synodal Treasury the Church will be the mis

tress of its own destiny.

Let us not be deceived in this matter; the separation is commencing now by the finances, and it will not stop there. Let us learn to do our business for ourselves, if we do not wish it to be done without us and against us. After all, to take charge of one's own affairs, and to depend in matters of religion only on God and one's own conscience and devotion, is the very essence of Protestantism, and was and is to be yet its glory. Let us not imagine that because the national flag still floats over our churches we may go to sleep in a deceitful security. No! above all, no illusion! Illusion, for many churches, would be death. And at the same time, let there be no fears and no discouragements; do not listen to those who say to you that if the State were to withhold its purse our churches would be lost. What! can we French Protestants not do what is done by the English. the Scotch, the Swiss, the Americans, and even the Irish Catholics? Can we not do what our brothers of the Eglises Libres are doing at our very doors? Can we not pay-we whose fathers could die? By what right, I pray you, is this insult cast into the face of our churches? As for me, who have hastily passed over their works, very far from speaking to you of discouragement, I wish more than ever to speak to you of hope. We are entering upon a crisis, but it depends on us only to make this crisis our salvation. Let us learn to look it manfully in the face! Let us make our Protestant people touch this peril with the finger, and let us all work with one heart under the eye of God for the progress of the Gospel and the elevation of our churches through their synods. In this, gentlemen, there is a strength which we do not yet seem to suspect. We are at the beginning of this conflict, and the impulse is yet scarcely given; let us wait and fortify

If at the commencement of the century, when our Church counted scarcely 130 pastors and not a church in activity, not any one whatever, then when there reigned around it only silence and oblivion, a voice had arisen to announce that in 70 years French Protestantism would have 1,200 pastors, would perform the works that we have seen, would give for its faith and for those who suffer many millions per year, and would reestablish the synodal régime for which our fathers had so long sighed in vain—I ask you, who would have believed it? Who would not have charged this strange prophecy with mad enthusiasm? But nevertheless this prophecy has been realized, God be praised! and thus will be realized the hope to which I, to-day, invite you.

Brothers, let us then rejoice and return thanks! Let us think of what we were and of what we now are. No discouragement, no faint-heartedness. Let our hearts beat high, high above all fear and distrust, very high above all littleness and unwholesome zeal for the spirit of sect or party. Let us work with those who work, let us love with those who love, let us pray with those who pray, let us hope with those who hope. The future belongs to the eternal God.

ART, XI.-FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

PROTESTANT WORK IN SPAIN.

A LEADING German Protestant of Stuttgart recently made a visit to Spain, with a view of there studying the present evangelizing work in its various phases, and in an extended report gave a very interesting account of the activity of foreign Protestant workers on Spanish soil. In the north-eastern section of the land an American mission, led by Mr. Thomas Gulick, of Boston, supports eleven churches. In nine cities there are regular pastors or evangelists; while two cities, though without their own pastors, have regular meetings. The expense of supporting these amounts to about \$20,000 yearly, which passes through the hands of a brother of the above, now stationed in San Sebastian. In his report of the work he declared that fifteen or twenty years ago he would not have thought of urging the Spaniards to support the mission from their own means, but that now he endeavors to take collections from the congregations, though the members are nearly all of the poorer classes. In Valladolid a worthy English gentleman by the name of Armstrong commenced the work of evangelization in 1870 by forming a congregation. This work has already extended to nine centers, which together count 120 Church members and about 80 children in a school taught by a Spanish teacher. In Seville, where the Inquisition once had its principal seat, we find the only churches for Protestants in Spain; the other buildings are merely chapels or prayerrooms. The pastor of the principal one of these churches is supported by a Scotch Committee, and the congregation numbers about 140 members. The minister of a second congregation is maintained by the Anglican Church, and still a third church is in possession of the Protestants, as is a chapel in the suburbs. Four hundred children are reported to be in the Protestant schools of Seville.

In Cadiz and Xeres there are small Protestant congregations, ranging from 9 to 45 members, with 150 school children in all. The pastors of these are supported by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. This body also sustains a school of 150 children in Puerto. This is a sea-port and a very important city, to which has been transferred the English Seminary for the training of teachers and preachers.

In Malaga there are 130 enrolled members, with 100 communicants and about 200 school children, all supported by the Anglican Church. There are three principal Protestant congregations in Barcelona, of which the most effective one is controlled by a Swiss Committee of Lausanne, and whose preacher is said to speak Spanish better than any other of the foreign clergy. Auberlen gives it as his decided opinion that the Protestant work would be very weak were it not for the foreign teachers. The Spaniards have not in themselves the strength and enterprise to carry on the work without direction and aid. He thinks that of the many school children a very small proportion will be likely to grow up into genuine Protestant Church members. On the whole, his judgment is not very encouraging in regard to the children.

THE WORSHIP OF THE SAINTS IN ITALY.

When the United Kingdom of Italy was formed, and Rome became its capital, the government and local authorities in a great many sections adopted various measures with a view to confine the celebration of the saints within the churches, and to put an end to all noisy and pomp ous celebrations in public. The first step to be taken in this direction was to prevent all state officials from taking any official part in the ceremony, and for a time there was comparatively little outward show in Italy of the saint-worship of the churches. But for the last few years the ceremonies are again gaining ground in public, while the rescripts and regulations are being forgotten. Of late many of the patron saints have their former noisy festivals, which crowd out all regular religious service, and at which many of the civil authorities again appear. We quote a few examples as illustrations. In Modena two pretended martyrs are worshiped as patron saints. In the financial report of the city is an entry entitled "Expenses for participation of the City Council in the festival of the patron saints." For years this entry did not appear, but in January last public opinion pressed so hard on the city authorities that they were forced to introduce the former customs and "respect tradition." Quite a bill was incurred for the purpose of obtaining new gala uniforms, at the expense of the city, in honor of said saints. The second example may be found in the city of Catania, in Sicily, which boasts of the honor of possessing the body of Saint Agatha, who protects the city as a patron saint. Her festival is one of a very magnificent character, in which the worldly and the spiritual meet in strange medley. The silver coffin of the saint is borne along in solemn procession, while crowds of men and women, clad in long white robes, follow it with loud cries and fantastic demonstrations. These festivities, that last for about a week, resemble the Saturnalia and the Bacchanalia of the ancient Romans. After some years of absence the city authorities appeared at the last one in February. The municipal buildings were adorned with immense figures and wax tapers, and the councilors, clothed in gay garbs, took part in the procession. We need scarcely say that this

return to the Saturnalia by the Church is regarded with apprehension by the general government.

THE JEWISH QUESTION IN GERMANY.

Although we hear of but few external conflicts in Germany with the Jews, there is, nevertheless, no actual truce between the combatants: the strife is being waged on a deeper basis. A great many German Publicists are in the field, some discussing the atheistic character of the anti-Semitic leaders, and others attacking even Luther for having given the Jewish Bible to the people as a means of advancing the Reformation. One author still harps upon the question of the biblical proof of shedding virgin blood in sacrifice. To him and his school Delitzsch replies in a work, entitled "Latest Visions of the Anti-Semitic Prophet," in which he proves that no assertion of this kind can be found. Here, even, three Catholic theologians enter the field, decidedly contesting such a translation of any real or supposed book of the Bible. Dr. Lehnhardt gives us a very good review of the progress of the anti-Semitic movement. He acknowledges that though its course is now quiet its channel is very deep. His remedy for the trouble is mixed marriage of Jews and Christians, in which he would find the only means of reconciliation between the two opposing elements.

A new field of activity is found in the so-called "Institutes" of the students in many of the universities. These societies have been formed at Leipzig, Halle, Erlangen, Breslau, Berlin, and other cities. A young theologian is a special enthusiast in this work, endeavoring to awaken among Christians a mission zeal and activity for Israel. The Leipzig Institute is now engaged in publishing pamphlets on the Jewish question.

In the midst of this war with the pen, the feeling in the Jewish camp seems at present divided; yet those writers seem best to reach the ear of the Jewish multitude who speak quieting words to them, and encourage their self-consciousness. An anonymous pamphlet, entitled "Why Do We Not Embrace Christianity?" has obtained no hearing among them. The common complaint is cast into their faces from every direction, that of the labor that all nations have to perform they are sure to choose the most agreeable and profitable. The statistics of the Jews of Berlin show that while eight per cent, of them enter the so-called liberal professions, eighty-five per cent. enter commercial callings, and the merest fraction thas adopt manual labor for a support. Or, while, according to the number of Jews in Breslau, 2,000 should enter the elementary schools, only 500 of them are there, while the remaining 1,500 enter the higher schools; three fourths of the entire number, therefore, press into the higher occupations. Another very unacceptable fact is the immigration of Jews from abroad into Prussia. So many of these come from Posen and other outlying districts to Berlin, that they form at least one fourth of the entire Jewish population of the capital. A large number of these foreign Jews seem to come simply to make rapid and

prosperous commercial ventures, and then retire. The social and intellectual growth of that great city thus clearly depends largely on the development of the Jewish question, which will certainly remain a very active one, and a very caustic and dangerous one, for some time to come.

CITY MISSION WORK ABROAD.

There is a wonderful activity in the line of city mission work in several European capitals, whose pastors and zealous laymen are waking up to the fact that the mass of the people will not crowd into the State churches, and that if they are to be reached at all by Christian effort they must be pursued. The famous court preacher of Berlin, Dr. Stöcker, is proving to be a noble leader in this aggressive Christianity. He acknowledges that the German capital has but few Christian congregations, churches, and preachers, and calls on the city mission work to supply these needs. He appeals not to the state, but to the people, for money, and generally finds by the end of the year that providential gifts make his accounts even. He began with a comparatively small yearly demand, but last year pleaded for \$25,000, and received very nearly that sum. He has workers visiting individuals and families, and reports about 60,000 visits annually. The number of the children in the mission Sunday-schools has increased to over 3,000, and the individual assemblies of young people and adults have grown very noticeably. The enterprise is now extending its work to the suburbs, and Dr. Stöcker is calling for 100 city missionaries. When the individual missionary work was begun, a few years ago, the workers were received with rudeness, or even insult; now they report no coarse words, and declare the hatred toward the Church to be rapidly disappearing. The best proof of the influence exerted is shown in the increased number of marriages and baptisms, the percentage of these being far greater than in other German cities to which this mission work has not extended. Their mode of operation is seen in the increased activity of the clergy, in the extension of the system of deaconesses, and in the publication of circulars, appeals, and tracts of the Evangelical Association, of which their last report gives the following figures: 60,246 tracts, 161,403 sermons, 5,403 subscriptions to religious periodicals, especially the very popular and excellent "Berlin Sunday Journal." The society during the last year sold 225 Bibles, gave away 78, sold 1,045 New Testaments, gave away 583, and gave and sold about 8,000 Prayer-books. Small as this report may seem to us, who have long cherished this work in our great cities, it is large and encouraging for those to whom the work is new, and in the city where infidel and atheistic tendencies are so rife and aggressive among the masses.

ART. XII.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE latest work of Padre Curci, who was some time ago expelled from the Order of Jesus, but who still claims to be a priest, is very severe on the Pope. It is entitled "The Vatican Desiring a Royal Throne:-A Worm Still Gnawing Within the Catholic Church." Curci declares that the peculiar misfortune of the papacy and papal Church is the desire to continue the temporal power, because the loss of this now places the Pope in the highly undignified attitude of a pretender. The present condition of the Christian Church, he urges, will no longer tolerate such commingling of powers; and so long as the Vatican will not cease these claims, so long will it fail to possess the sympathy of the noblest spirits among the Catholics themselves, and will prepare for itself humiliation after humiliation from the direction of the secular powers. Curci dedicates his work to the young clergy and the thoughtful laical world. To such laymen and priests Curci may do much good through his book, for they can draw from it many good lessons. In former times the laymen found a pleasure in seeing the priests rich and powerful, clothed in purple and fine linen, sparkling with precious stones, and driving like lords in magnificent coaches, with proud lackeys, To-day, fortunately, the intelligent world finds no pleasure in such displays, but rather despises and condemns them. Such clergy as Curci would train up-rich in knowledge, modesty, and feeling-are those that are not wanted by the papacy of to-day; and consequently the Vatican condemns this book and curses this keen and courageous old man in the most caustic terms.

In view of the above, a very timely publication is the "History of the Index Expurgatorius," by Professor Reusch, of Bonn. It is highly interesting to follow this historian in his investigation of the catalogues of forbidden books in all Catholic countries. In the first class of the Index are the authors whose entire writings are condemned; some of these are innocent jurists, who perhaps in only one single instance had censured the canonical law of marriage; or they are authors of lexicons and grammars, who through typographical errors or some misunderstanding have made themselves unacceptable. There are some special investigations as to the position in the Index of men like Savonarola, Macchiavelli, and Boccaccio. Among the details are to be found, the history of the suit of the Inquisition against the Archbishop Carranza of Toledo, on account of his Cathecismo Cristiano, and the discussion of the Ten Rules of the Index of Trent. This is claimed to be the first book published in regard to the famous Index, on which it throws a good deal of light.

In truth, Catholicism is receiving rather more than its due meed of attention in the publications of the day, a fact that shows how keen is the public appreciation of the ecclesiastical situation. Professor 38—FOURTH SERIES, VOL. XXXVI.

Nippold, who has just been promoted from Berne to Jena, has lately published the second volume of his "Manual of Modern Church History." The first volume, published three years ago, contained the introduction to the Church History of the nineteenth century: this second volume gives the History of Catholicism since the restoration of the papacy. The story of this is neither more nor less than the increasing power of the Order of Jesus, and the progressive permeation of the Catholic Church with the spirit of Jesuitism within and without: the assumption and extension of power in the line of temporal rule; with a state policy that ever fails in the means and rarely reaches the goal. The author brings to light many facts and arguments which prove that the Vatican is threatening the Christian world and its missionary efforts with much danger. The author, who possesses a comprehensive knowledge of facts, gives us not simply a mere collection of these, but extends his observations to the more deeply-lying causes that produce events, and the impulses that control their course.

Heinrich Atte's "Archæology of Christian Art" is a well-known and highly esteemed work. It has been growing on his hands for many years, and in 1877, by the conflagation of his home, he lost in a few hours the weary labors, collections, and books that formed his fund of treasures for a revised edition of his work. But notwithstanding his age and physical exhaustion, he determined to go again through the labors of a new and enlarged edition, and this he now gives to the world. He divides it into sections, headed "The Church Edifice," "The Internal Arrangement and Adornment of the Churches," "Church Heraldry," etc. These are merely the central points around which he groups the most manifold subdivisions. The bewildering mass of details indicates an admirable diligence, a thorough collecting, and a careful sifting and working of the whole. The profoundest student can here hardly be left in doubt in regard to any question. The first impression of the reader, as the last, is astonishment at the bee-like industry of the author. From this minute perfection of details, we need scarcely say that the work is not adapted to the mere dilettante of Christian art. And for a like reason it is no mere guide for the beginner in the study of Christian archæology. But for the advanced student, it forms an inestimable fund of this species of knowledge, and is an indispensable manual for his investigations.

A new oriental journal, bearing the title of "Journal for Cuneiform Studies and Filial Subjects," has been begun by two orientalists of the University of Munich, which promises to be a very useful adjunct in this line of learned investigation. It is published quarterly, and bears a somewhat international character, in so far as it is intended for investigators of the Arrow-head Inscriptions in France, England, and our own country. The text will be mainly German, but the editors propose to give articles in the English and French languages, and also in Italian. To judge from the contents of the specimen number, the best

representatives of this line of study will appear in its pages and contribute to its success. Among the authors in this number, we find the names of Schrader, Guiard, Sayce, Appart, Halévy, and others. The Journal promises, according to the articles announced in its Prospectus, to give monographic descriptions of the west Asiatic religions, art, and culture, paying most attention to the Babylonian and Assyrian and Christotheological interests. If it carries out its programme, it will be a very desirable scientific adjunct to its older colleague in Germany, namely, "The German Oriental Journal for Egyptology."

The Rector of the German and Swiss school in Constantinople publishes an interesting monogram in the archives of Christian art of 1884. entitled "A Subterranean Byzantine Church." This proves to be the narrative of a very interesting "find," which he has made a few miles eastward from ancient Chalcedon, on the shore of the Sea of Marmora, in the coast region of Bithynia. It is a description of a hillock of refuse and earth covering a small church with a low cupola on a quadrangular site. It is surrounded by four halls covered with arches which terminate at the four corners in little chapels with small domes. An oblong court leads into the little church, which is destitute of windows, and therefore from the beginning must have been planned for artificial lighting. Around the church are grouped the remains of rectangular walls, which may point to the earlier existence of a cloister. The peculiar connection of the dome with the quadrangular surface by the rounding of the inner walls indicates, according to the narrator, that the origin of the structure is to be laid in the most ancient period of oriental church architecture, perhaps, therefore, in the sixth century. As the building is not entirely exhumed, a more accurate description cannot yet be given.

Samuel Gobat, the late Protestant Bishop of Jerusalem, has found a biographer who performs a very acceptable task in giving to the world the information that he has been able to collect in regard to this worthy and noted man. The Bishop himself had previously published a diary of his life in Abyssinia up to the period when he entered on his episcopal office in Jerusalem, and then a portion of his biography was to be found only in manuscript in his own hand, written not for publicity, but for the satisfaction of his own family circle. His youngest daughter made a German translation of the English original for the press. The material for the later portion of his life is supplied by Gobat's circulars and the re ports of others, especially of his own children and of a reverend friend. Professor Thiersch gathered and arranged all the material for this book. The impression made by the biography in regard to the personality of Gobat is very clear and emphatic. His pure evangelical piety, his deep humility, his unusual measure of self-sacrifice, his ceaseless struggle for the welfare of souls, even outside of the limits of his own Church, made him a man capable beyond most others to be a pathbreaker for evangelical Christianity and life in the depressed Orient.

And he deserves the greater appreciation because much of the opposition to him, and indeed his greatest troubles, came from the circle of his own English Church. The Germans entertain a high respect for him because of his peculiar relations with Frederick William IV., through whose patronage and care he was placed and maintained in his peculiar position. It appears from this biography that it was the wish of the Prussian king to have the first bishops of the newly organized Prussian Church consecrated by him. The closing pages of the work give a short review of the present condition of the Protestant diocese of Jerusalem.

ART. XIII.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Annual Theological Review. Current Discussions in Theology. By the Professors of Chicago Theological Seminary. Volume II. 12mo, pp. 324. Chicago: Fleming H. Revell.

More than a year ago, three of the professors of Chicago Theological Seminary (Congregational) issued a small volume entitled "Current Discussions," which they designed should be the first of a series of annual publications from that institution, giving some account of the trend of biblical and theological thought and discussions during the last preceding year. The second of the series is now before the public, and the whole six members of the faculty unite in its production, each contributing a "Part" having reference to his own specialty.

Part I, by Professor Samuel Ives Curtis, having the general title, "Present State of Old Testament Studies," and the more definite one, "The History of Israel," occupies about sixty pages, and is one of the most noticeable divisions of the volume. The subject is just now the leading one in the whole world of biblical learning, and it is here treated by a specially able hand. The design appears to be simply to indicate the state of the subject as it exists among the most "advanced," which means the most skeptical and destructive school of critics in the German universities. The situation is outlined with a good share of learning, and with a judicial freedom from bias that seems to be at once clear and exceedingly cold, scarcely giving any indication of the writer's own attitude in respect to the matters of which he writes. Its atmosphere is altogether that of the least evangelical of the German universities, and it apparently "gives away" the cause of

the supernatural religionists, by tacitly allowing the unwarrantable positions of the rationalists to stand unchallenged as they choose to present them. The positions of such critics as Ewald, Wellhausen, Stade, Robertson Smith, and others of the same school of thought, are brought prominently into view, but those of writers of opposite views are very little noticed. The exhibit made is, no doubt, a correct one as to the details given; but as a representation of the subject in hand, as it exists among the great body of Protestant scholars and theologians, it is manifestly onesided and untruthful. There often appears a strange tendency among our biblical and theological scholars to give the advantage in every discussion to the enemies of the Bible and of evangelical orthodoxy. No doubt there is great need of a thorough and searching re-examination of the Old Testament, and it is the duty of our Christian scholars to engage in that work; but there is no good reason why the whole case should be virtually surrendered by uncalled-for concessions before the issue is fairly joined.

The second division of the department of Exegetical Theology, that of the New Testament, by Professor J. T. Hyde, is in quite a different tone from that of the former. The fight about the New Testament, which was precipitated by the publication of Strauss's "Life of Jesus," half a century ago, may be set down as fully determined, with the complete discomfiture of the assailants, but not without driving the defenders out of not a few of the indefensible positions formerly occupied by them. The present state of New Testament learning, which has become popularized in connection with the publication of the Revised Version, is altogether a satisfactory one, and the whole subject is very well

outlined in the nearly fifty pages here devoted to it.

In Part II, Exegetical Theology, Professor H. M. Scott details the condition of the subject as it now exists in Germany, with an almost absolute disregard of any other portion of the Church or the world. The state of things among the New Lutherans and the "Unionists" is briefly and rapidly sketched, and then the "New Rationalistic Theology," which is shown to be a medley of all sorts of opinions, agreed upon among themselves only as to their common rejection of and contempt for the cherished opinions of evangelical Christians. The case is stated very calmly and clearly—no doubt fairly—and the reader is left to guess what may be the writer's personal estimate of the issues described, and whether or not he has any preference respecting the estimates that his readers may make of the questions discussed.

All this may be very well, if it is to be understood that it is no part of the duty of a theological professor to vindicate the truth of what he is set to teach.

Part III, Systematic Theology, by Professor George N. Bowman, is devoted to the consideration of Theism and Revelation, and a chapter is given to each of these subjects. The first discusses Professor Hicks's "Design Argument," examining especially his idea of the Absolute, and closing with the unanswered question, whether or not the view there given is tenable. The second chapter is, in like manner, devoted to Professor Ladd's recent book on the "Sacred Scriptures," which is ably handled, and some very good suggestions brought out; but, as if giving any intimation of what is correct or incorrect in it would be an impertinence, the writer is very careful to avoid any thing determinative, though his leaning toward the better side may, at some points, be detected.

Part IV, Practical Theology, (about preaching,) by Professor F. W. Fisk, is much more within the range of every-day life. Much that is given is excellent, but some of his suggestions may be safely subjected to further consideration. About the same criticism might apply to Part V, Pastoral Theology, (Church work,) which treats of the "how" and the requisite appliances for carrying forward, successfully and pleasantly, the proper affairs of "a conjugation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is [should be] preached, and the sacraments duly administered."

The design and plan of this "annual" appear to us to be especially a happy conception, and the execution of the work, as purposed by its authors, is well done; but its matter suggests a reason why so many of the younger ministers of the Congregational churches appear to be wholly adrift in respect to nearly all the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. It would be an excellent service could one or more of our own theological faculties give to us a similar production, but without its dubiousness of theological opinions.

Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology, on the Basis of Hagenbach. By George R. Crooks, D.D., and John F. Hurst, D.D. Svo, pp. 596. New York: Phillips & Hunt: 1884.

The "Library of Biblical and Theological Literature," projected by the Methodist Book Concern at New York several years ago, advances apace, and we are enabled to announce, as above, the

publication of another—the third—of its volumes. In respect to thoroughness and breadth of scholarship, this work must prove equal to the largest requirements, and the author's grasp of his subject as a whole, and his mastery of its details, cannot fail to prove entirely satisfactory. Of all this the name of Hagenbach is a sufficient guarantee, for in his chosen departments of theological learning he has no superior, even in Germany. The book thus given to English-speaking readers is a valuable contribution to the available resources for thorough theological investigations, with special reference to the practical work of the Gospel ministry.

We name the work as Hagenbach's, for such it is, not only as to its "basis," but also, for the most part, in respect to its substance and superstructure. It is thoroughly German in its style and modes of thought and methods of statement, and its outlook upon its themes of discussion is made from a German standpoint. It is simply Hagenbach's "Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology" translated from the German into good, idiomatic English, and somewhat supplemented and otherwise modified by the American editors. Its cumbrous and pedantic title would be more intelligible if made to read, "The Methods and Substance of Theological Study."

A not unfriendly critic, and one altogether competent to give judgment in such a case, whose words have just now come under our eye, remarks at this point, and we fully indorse his "putting" as our own:

It is so essentially German in its thought and method, that English and American scholars will treat it as serving only a temporary convenience, and will all the more desire an independent and original treatise. It is not difficult to believe that the accomplished editors, Drs. Crooks and Hurst, could have produced a better work by making less use of Hagenbach, and elaborating from their abundant stores of knowledge an entirely new Theological Encyclopædia. English [speaking] divines have no need of appropriating; nor is it desirable to give currency in our tongue to a terminology so dim as [that here used.] Friendly criticism may also allege that the bewildering mass of German bibliography appended to the several sections of this volume will scarcely serve any useful purpose to the American student. A large proportion of the works referred to are inaccessible to most American scholars; and, while the references serve to indicate the vast amount of brain-work that has been bestowed upon these subjects, and are themselves a means of literary culture, a less extensive and more select bibliography would seem to have better suited the purposes of an introductory hand-book for American and English theological students.

The strange absence of any such work in our language, of a later date or more adequate character than Bickersteth's "Christian Student," which was first published more than fifty years ago, may fully justify the reproduction in an English dress of such a specimen of the latest and maturest Christian scholarship, even though its speech and its thoughts "bewray" its alien character. But it seems especially desirable that, as above intimated, it shall be accepted as only a "temporary convenience," and that Dr. Crooks, or some one else equally competent—if such another can be found—shall without any unnecessary delay set about preparing the much-needed work. With very many real excellences, which, however, are marred in respect to their practical use by their form and methods of statement, there are not wanting also in this work manifest defects, and also damaging misconceptions of the requisite personal qualifications for entering upon the work of the ministry; and it may be devoutly hoped that the ideas upon this subject which prevail in any of the State Churches of Europe will not soon become naturalized among us.

System of Christian Theology. By Henry B. Smith, D.D., LL.D. Edited by William S. Karr, D.D., Professor of Theology in Hartford Theological Seminary. 8vo, pp. 630. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

Professor H. B. Smith was no doubt among the very best thinkers and writers, in theology, of the recent past, or rather of the present, for by his works he is still among men. Thoroughly scholarly, as to his reading and study of broad and liberal views and modes of thinking, yet a firm believer, and devotedly attached to the theological system in which he had been educated—a modified Calvinism—to harmonize which with his own broader and more scriptural views of divine truth was his life-work, the present volume is his best monument. But it is his own only as the temple was David's; for as David gathered the materials and Solomon built the temple, so the matter of this treatise was prepared by him whose name it bears, but its form and structure is the work of the editor.

As a system of theology this work is eminently scriptural, orthodox, and evangelical. That the author comes to his task with strong and intelligent predilections toward certain methods of viewing and stating Christian doctrine is every-where manifest, and these determine his relations to existing theological schools of thought. He is an Augustinian, and yet he avoids the peculiarities of Augustine's notions on such points as the realism of sin and righteousness, and his process of sinking the individual man and merging all his spiritual interests, for time and eternity, in the consolidated federation of the race. He is a Calvinist as to the positive side of that system, but not so as

to the negative side; for while he insists upon the doctrine of the divine predestination, he also holds to the freedom of the human will, really and practically; and he claims that it is not unreasonable for us to suppose that the apparent antagonism of these two postulates is only apparent, and that beyond the range of our vision they perfectly harmonize. A special excellence of this work is the clearness—the cleanness—of the style of the writing, and of the mode of stating the several propositions, indicating the completeness of the author's processes of thought upon the subjects discussed. Obscurity in writing is more frequently the result of incomplete mental processes than of lack of facility in the use of language; and it is quite evident that in this case every thought had been completely formulated in the mental laboratory before it was committed to writing. And yet here, as in nearly every system of theology, a large share of what is set forth has been accepted simply because it is the traditional faith of the Church, and not because such points have been thoroughly examined, each upon its own evidence. This is perhaps unavoidable, but it suggests the thought that not improbably some of these accepted points may yet be called in question, and, after more adequate inquiry, modified or rejected. There remains very much land to be explored by rational and devout freethinking.

A Higher Catechism of Theology. By WILLIAM BURT POPE, D.D. 12mo, pp. 389. New York: Phillips and Hunt. \$1 50.

A complete apparatus for theological instruction and study consists of three grades of books: The Catechism proper; the Higher Catechism, or a summary of doctrines; and Systematic Theology, or the full statement of Christian doctrine, duly The first and the last of these have been largely elaborated. provided by Methodist authors, and issued from the Methodist press; but for the second no adequate provision has heretofore been made. The want of such a work has been felt and confessed, and some attempts have been made to supply it, but hitherto without satisfactory results. Dr. Pope's great work having been selected as the standard text-book of theology for the use of the junior preachers of the Methodist ministry, it is well that the epitomized form of doctrines comes from the same hand; and accordingly this work has been prepared, certainly with marked conscientiousness, as well as with distinguished ability. As a theological writer, Dr. Pope is scholarly,

conservative, and painstaking. Doctrinally he is a Weslevan of the strictest type, and especially of the school of Watson, with whose positions, as set forth in the "Institutes," he is nearly always in strict accord. His Arminianism is that of Arminius himself. rather than that of the later Remonstrants; and in some important particulars he is not entirely in harmony with some of our later American Methodist writers: notably in respect to the nature of sin, and of atonement, and of free-will; on which points he is more nearly Augustinian, and they relatively nearer to Pelagianism. He also makes a somewhat larger account of the sacraments, as in some way connected with the bestowment of salva-By reason of his thorough acquaintance with the subject of Christian doctrine, Dr. Pope is well prepared to set it forth in its details and in systematic order. The catechetical form enables him to particularize at every point, and to give his definitions and mark distinctions of thought with great clearness. business is not to support what he declares by either Scripture or reason, but to set forth what he conceives to be the plain teaching of God's word in direct and easily intelligible terms. The catechist is assumed to know what he teaches, and the catechumen is supposed to be a subject of instruction, coming to be taught, and not for debate. Discussions and disputations may have their uses. but the Christian teacher must often depend chiefly upon the essential reasonableness and adaptation of what he declares, rather than upon external proofs and logical demonstrations; and for his purpose the simple didactic forms of the catechism is peculiarly well adapted. It has been matter of complaint that the Methodist laity, and especially the younger portion of them, are not well taught in the doctrines of their Church; and as a cause of this, the want of a concise manual of doctrine has been alleged, but that matter of complaint must now cease. This "Higher Catechism" ought to be made a text-book in the young people's classes in our Sunday-schools.

A more egregious mistake has seldom been made, even by its mistaking promoters, than the assumption that the Old Testament has ceased to be useful for the defense of the Gospel—perhaps rather a burden and a hinderance. As sometimes interpreted by

The Great Argument; or, Jesus Christ in the Old Testament. By WILLIAM H. THOMSON, M.A., M.D., Professor in the Medical Department of the University of the City of New York. 8vo, pp. 471. New York: Harper & Brothers.

certain super-fiducial literalists, it might, indeed, become such; but read and expounded by any reverent and rationally critical mind, its value in Christian apologetics, and not less so in scriptural exegesis, is beyond estimate. And with this view of the subject we hail with real pleasure the appearance of the work named above. Its double title is especially significant, as it assumes that the revelation of Christ in the Old Testament is indeed the great and divinely purposed argument in favor of the Truth. To this our Lord himself referred the caviling Jews, and out of these sacred books of the Jews the apostles alleged and proved that Jesus was the Christ.

The author of the book now in hand is a son of the author of "The Land and the Book," and himself lived during the susceptible period of his youth among the scenes of the Holy Land. Retaining the impressions of his childhood, he now, in mature manhood, is turning them to account in deducing from them instructions respecting the great truths of whose manifestation Palestine was the arena. The argument itself is not different in either its substance or its form from what has often been given; but in respect to both the fullness of the proofs adduced and to the forms in which they are presented, it excels any that we have seen elsewhere. The Introduction, filling over forty pages, gives the external conditions of the subject in hand, so showing the force and pertinency of the following array of proofs; and the twelve following chapters present a succession of arguments whose combined force constitutes the highest kind of a demonstration, because, "to him gave all the prophets witness." As a Christology of the Old Testament, we have seen nothing that so fully and satisfactorily meets the demands of the case.

The Parables of Jesus. A Methodical Exposition. By Siegfried Goebal, Court Chaplain in Halberstadt. Translated by Prof. Banks Headingly. 8vo, pp. 455. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

The purpose of the writer in composing this scholarly work was "to avoid the usual arbitrariness in the treatment of the Parables, and to investigate their original meaning under the guidance of a thorough, methodical, and exact exposition." Not finding in German theological literature any such exegetical treatment of these interesting portions of the Gospel, he undertook to supply the lack himself. His translator informs us that his work "has won considerable favor in Germany," a fact which of

itself is no mean commendation. Dr. Weiss gives it credit for "solid exegesis, sound judgment, and sober, skillful interpretation," albeit he censures its author for his disregard of the results of modern "criticism," and for his "diffuse, involved style," The first of these censures will be accepted as one of his conspicuous merits by the evangelical reader; the second he will regret, since. despite the effort of the translator to modify his style, it is still tedious and lacking in perspicuity. To some its purely German character will add to its value; while others will regret that its author did not avail himself of the aids he might have found in the valuable expositions of English writers. To the student who seeks not fanciful and unnatural interpretations, or merely edifying applications of the Parables of Jesus, but a sound exegesis which aims to give "the simple, original sense which the parable had in the mouth of Jesus in relation to those to whom he delivered it," this volume will be highly esteemed.

Critical and Exegetical Hand-Book to the Epistles to the Corinthians. By HEINBICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER, Th.D., Oberconsistorial Corinthians. Translated from the Fifth Edition of the German, by Rev. D. DOUGLAS BANNERMAN, M.A. The Translation Revised and Edited by WILLIAM P. DICKSON, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. With a Preface and Supplementary Notes, by Talbot W. Chambers, D.D. 8vo, pp. 720. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Meyer's Critical and Exegetical Commentary deservedly stands among the very first of its class. It is eminently learned, judicial in its spirit, and judicious in its evangelical tone and doctrinal decisions. It is especially to be commended for the fidelity with which the results of sound criticism are accepted, without respect to traditional or ecclesiastical prepossessions; and yet it is uniformly reverent in its spirit and evangelical in its conclusions. In company with Alford's "Greek Testament," we have long made it our hand-book for the study of the New Testament, and have found both satisfaction and profit in its use.

This new edition, the first in this country, has several special features, some of them of considerable importance, and adding to the practical value of the work. The translation has been improved at a variety of points, and generally better conformed to the English idioms; and both the preface and the supplementary notes by Dr. Chambers are real and valuable additions. The work, as a whole, is a store-house of New Testament learning which every Bible student should possess and study thoroughly.

Theology of the Old Testament. By Dr. Gustav Friedrich Oehler, of the Evangelical Theological Seminary in Tübingen. A Revision of the Translation in Clark's Foreign Theological Library, with the Additions of the Second German Edition, an Introduction and Notes, by George E. Day, Professor of Biblical Theology in Yale College. 8vo, pp. 594. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The battle of the giants about the Old Testament is not only begun, but is already well advanced. On the side of the assailants, as chiefs, stand Kuenen and Wellhausen and W. Robertson Smith, a trio of champions of destructive criticism, learned and skilled in controversy, and quite unrestrained by any undue reverence for the traditional faith. They are foemen worthy of the steel of any others, and are not to be put off by a shrug or a proverb. The defense advances more slowly, but not less surely. and forward among its champions is Oehler, whose great work, by the favor of its American editor and publishers, is brought within easy reach of those who use only their vernacular, without loss by its transmission into English, which could not be so well said of the Edinburgh edition. No account of the contents of the work can be given in the few lines that we can devote to this notice. It is enough to say that it is the one great work which effectually covers the whole field of the question at issue. and successfully controverts the strange positions of its antagonists. Let no one consider himself master of the question who has not thoroughly read and digested this remarkable production, to do which will be a work of weeks and months.

A help toward Bible references and textual quotations, midway between a concordance and a commentary, and having some of the properties of each. As a concordance, it is of ideas and subjects rather than of words, so as to enable one to find some text or passage of Scripture on any given subject that he may have in mind. The work, which must be the result of immense study and painstaking, appears to be much more than a compilation of passages strung together by merely verbal likenesses; it is rather a rationally arranged comparison of subjects and texts, the latter taken in their proper meaning. It is a work of very much merit, and will prove a valuable labor-saving manual in consulting the divine word. It is well printed on good paper, and is altogether such a book as the Bible reader will find useful.

Biblical Lights and Side Lights. Ten Thousand Illustrations, with Thirty Thousand Cross References, consisting of Facts, Incidents, and Remarkable Declarations taken from the Bible. By Rev. CHARLES E. LITTLE. 8vo, pp. 632. New York; Funk & Wagnalls.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Life of James Buchanan. By George Ticknor Curtis. Two vols., 8vo. Vol. i, pp. 625; vol. ii, pp. 707. New York: Harper & Bros. 1883.

The mind of the American people is made up about the fifteenth President of the United States. The verdict was rendered in 1860, and is uncomplimentary. The unfavorable judgment of thirty millions of people is at no time a trifle. A greater punishment than the subject could bear, it suggested a political Apologia pro Vita Sua. That autobiographical plea, however, made little impression upon public opinion. Indeed, the thirty millions seemed to feel that the less said about the administration of 1857–61 the better for its author. No one saw this more clearly than the person himself. It is all the more pathetic, therefore, to learn that even in the closing hours of his life he clung to the vague hope that the day would come when his country would reverse its passionate decision.

A quarter of a century has now elapsed. An appeal to re-open the case cannot be called premature. If the former judgment was heated by an excited period, there has been time to cool. Moreover, a new generation has appeared in the jury-box. Candor must compel a common confession that this book cannot be said to harbinger the day of exoneration and long-delayed praise for which the expiring President yearned. That is no fault of the biography.

Disclaiming any previous personal interest in the fame of his subject, Mr. Curtis's political sympathy has nevertheless quite compensated for the lack of actual acquaintance and attachment. It is for no friendlier biographer yet to come to portray this character in that warmth of personal sympathy to which every public character is justly entitled. No writer in future will be more thorough and patient, or will be able to procure ampler memorabilia on which to base still another life. Mr. Buchanan's voluminous correspondence, his private journals, and his full memoranda of all his important conversations leave nothing lacking in the way of data.

Mr. Curtis has done the public a service in writing this life. His work will go far toward changing antipathy into pity. Few can read without emotion the record of the peculiar domestic sorrow that clouded Mr. Buchanan's young manhood. All will follow him with solicitude on his mission to St. Petersburg.

where, without previous experience, he was to cope with the most accomplished diplomatic fencers in the world, and will feel a patriotic pride in the ability and address which secured the first commercial treaty with Russia, an advantage which England's best politicians had sought in vain. None will miss the deft argumentative ability displayed at the Ostend Conference in defense of the alleged right of the United States to seize Cuba in the interest of the slave power, though few readers will escape sadness that such ability could be enlisted in such a cause. Many will be moved with sorrow, too, when noting the vile and cruel slanders that assailed the President in the crisis of his political life. All talk of his disloyalty or conscious collusion with traitors will be scouted. His stainless moral character, his purity of speech, his chivalrous and reverential bearing toward the gentler sex, his habits of secret prayer and Bible-reading, will lay hold of the reader's heart.

When he draws near the crucial hour of his destiny, the era of secession, we have no sinister distrust or suspicion of him. After granting all of Mr. Curtis's extenuating circumstances—the attitude of Congress—the President's construction of the constitution-the Northern incredulity as to the seriousness of the crisis, the residuum is the old conviction of the people, that the brilliant diplomatist and able constitutional lawyer lacked something. Mr. Curtis tells us that we ought not to talk about what might have been done. We cannot help it. We cannot avoid speculating what Abraham Lincoln would have done as President when South Carolina seceded, or what would have been James Buchanan's policy if Fort Sumter had been fired upon prior to March, 1861. Would the latter, in the face of the hurricane of wrath that arose in the Northern sky, have stood in the face of it arguing constitutional limitations? No man can tell. If we were as confident as, some of the divine nescience, we should say that Providence dared not permit the experiment.

We hesitate about our resolution of thanks to Mr. Curtis. He has given us a personal friend undoubtedly; but he has added therewith a new pang also. He has told us how, at their final parting, the Czar embraced him, and that when Queen Victoria met him once upon a time "an arch but benevolent smile lit her countenance." We, too, cannot withhold our smile and embrace. But, alas! our biographer has convinced us also that in the hour of our nation's peril our friend fell short of that greatness the country had a right to expect from him.

M. D. B.

Centenary Thoughts for the Pew and Pulpit of Methodism, in Eighteen Hundred and Eighty-four. By R. S. Foster, one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Surely a suggestive book, whether regarded as an exponent of what Episcopal Methodism has become, the means by which its past victories have been won, or as a shadower-forth of what it is fondly hoped may be its position when its second centennial shall dawn.

Some of the "Thoughts" dwelt in the author's mind long years ago, and were first uttered by him in the hearing of his brethren of the New York Conference on occasion of the centennial celebration of Methodism in 1866. Others of them have been uttered by him on various occasions since, especially when, as one of the chief pastors of the Church, he has addressed bodies assembled as Annual and Lay Conferences. But all of them have been more recently transmuted in the alembic of a deeper spiritual laboratory, and are now given as fitting words to the incitement of the Church to the divising of great things for God at the close of this first century of her history.

The author has cast these "Centenary Thoughts" in three molds, or classes. In the first is comprised a rapid and vivid sketch of the numerical and potential advance of the Church in the hundred years just closing, and in its influence for good upon other religious bodies. From this section we make the following brief extract:

It [Methodism] was conspicuously an awakening of spiritual consciousness, which has been felt along all the lines of theological thought, and which has radically affected the conception of religion, and of fundamental doctrines throughout Christendom. No creed has been untouched by it. It is believed that it has done more to rectify theology in the matter of God's sovereignty and man's responsibility, the doctrines of sin, of atonement, [and] of human freedom, than [have] all other agencies put together.

The second class of "Thoughts" is largely made up of meditations suited especially "for the Pulpit." These have mainly to do with the duties and qualifications of the ministry of the Church. Here the author says:

Personal ministerial character is so important an integer, that I beg to devote a moment longer at this point. He that teaches holiness must himself be holy. He that would move men toward holiness must himself be contered in holiness. The force that lifts men must be from above, and yet must be in the preacher. People instinctively demand that religious teachers shall have the odor of sanctity about them. Nor is the semblance, however complete, sufficient. Souls have a way of knowing when souls speak to them. They infallibly discern between mere sound and the power which comes from the core of a great honest feeling. Out of the depths of the soul come the forces which move to moral revolutions.

The third division of the book is termed "Thoughts for the Pew." Here the Bishop comes near to the heart and the home of the Church at large, and urges it to the performance of its high and holy duty as becomes one who must himself "give account to God." Hear and heed him:

Cultivate love for generous deeds: it will broaden and deepen your manhood, it will give tone and richness to your piety, it will heighten and brighten your life. . . . In the house of God there are no distinctions. The poor and the rich meet together, and one God is Father of them all. The words of the lowly, seasoned with grace, are often fullest of comfort. . . . The spiritual work of the Christian is not limited to the sanctuary. It has to do with your closet and with your family life. Keep the fires burning by the daily supply of fuel from the closet and the family altar. Be priests in your homes. Wrestle with God for your children. Let grace appear in such loveliness in you that your children will be attracted by it. Let the sermon of your life and temper back up every exhortation of the pulpit. More than any body else be the evangel in your own household.

We heartily commend the book to all "the people called Methodists," and urge that at least one copy shall be found in every family of the thousands of our Israel.

J. L.

Brahmoism; or, History of Reformed Hinduism, from Its Origin in 1830, under Rajah Mohun Roy, to the Present Time, with a Particular Account of Babu Keshub Chunder Sen's Connection with the Movement. By RAM CHANDRA BOSE, M.A., of Lucknow, India. 12mo, pp. 222. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The author of this little volume, an educated Hindu, has twice visited this country as a delegate from the Methodist Mission Conference in India to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. As a native of that country and a convert from Hinduism, his views may be accepted as from the inside rather than the outside of the subject. His estimate of the Brahmo Somaj, and of its great apostle, Keshub Chunder Sen, are less exalted than have been taken by some Europeans. The book is worthy of the attention of all who would obtain a clear and comprehensive notion both of this somewhat remarkable person and his sect.

John Foster: Life and Thoughts. With Copious Index. By W. W. EVERTS, D.D. 8vo, pp. 207. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Foster was a remarkable man; a profound but solitary thinker; religious but without religious joy; and, though a minister of the Gospel of great simplicity and sincerity, yet he was evidently not well adapted to the "cure of souls." He has evidently found an appreciative editor in Dr. Everts, and the book here produced is honorable to both the parties.

39-FOURTH SERIES, VOL. XXXVI.

Miscellaneous.

Index to the Methodist Quarterly Review. Including "The Methodist Magazine," and "The Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review," 1818-1881. By ELIJAH H. PILCHER, D.D. 8vo, pp. 339. New York: Phillips and Hunt.

The current number of our Quarterly is designated No. 3, Volume LXVI; Fourth Series, XXXVI. This series is made up of "The Methodist Magazine," (monthly,) 1818 to 1829, inclusive—eleven volumes. The publication was then suspended for one year, and again revived as a Quarterly, and was so issued for eleven years under the direction of the editor of "The Christian Advocate," making the Second Series. In 1840 a separate editor (Rev. George Peck, D.D.) was elected, who was also to have the general editorship of the books published by the Book Concern, and the publication was by him raised to a higher plane, and designated as the beginning of a new (the third) series. In 1848 Dr. John M'Clintock was elected editor, and because some changes were made in the form, this, too, was designated as the beginning of a new series, (the fourth,) which was continued during the protracted editorship of Dr. Whedon.

There is certainly no exaggeration in the words of the compiler of this Index when he says, (in his preface,) "The files of 'The Methodist Quarterly Review' now contain the best thought of the Methodist Episcopal Church during nearly three quarters of a century." But on account of the miscellaneous character of the matter, and its wide distribution through so many volumes, it has been found only partially available for reference, so rendering an index indispensable to its further utility; and the title given above announces the preparation and publication of the much-needed guide to the hid treasures of these sixty-six volumes.

The author has evidently performed his work very largely as a labor of love, for only under such an incentive could such a performance be possible. After giving a brief "Historical Introduction," which will be at once new and very acceptable to the present generation of readers, the author presents his work under seven heads, each of which is, however, an index to all the several series—Biblical, Theological, Ecclesiastical, Philosophical, Biographical, Religious Intelligence, Miscellaneous. Then follows a list of the portraits (chiefly engravings on steel) that have appeared in the Review, and last of all three appendixes:

(1) Names of authors, (writers for the periodical,) with indica-

tions of the pieces written, their places and dates. (2) Names of authors quoted, with like designations of places and dates; and (3) Names of authors whose works have been reviewed or noticed. In the principal indexes, every paper is distinctly named, and its contents indicated with such fullness as will enable the inquirer to form a pretty correct estimate of its scope and character.

Certainly the matter scattered through these more than sixty volumes is quite too valuable to be allowed to perish, and the volumes themselves to become practically worthless; which without some way to find out their contents must be the case, and against which such an index is the only available provision. It is well, therefore, that such a work has been prepared; and for it the Methodist public owe a debt of thanks to the compiler and the publishers.

For every one who possesses any considerable portion of these volumes, the Index will be a necessity and a sure assistance, and it will be scarcely less useful for those who have not the back volumes of the Review, as by its help they may readily ascertain what has been written on any subject, by whom, and in what manner treated. And to all such we can, in good faith, recommend this volume as amply meeting the demands of the case.

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Nearly four years ago the present editor of the Methodist Quarterly Review, at the request of the Book Agents at New York, undertook the revisal of Dr. Adam Clarke's "Commentary on the New Testament," according to the plan indicated in the title given above. The work grew upon his hands much beyond his original expectation, and with bringing it through the press it has continued to the present time—though the first volume was published more than a year since. But at length all is completed, and the publication of the concluding volume is about to be announced. To give our readers the information they may desire respecting the design of the work, agreeable to which it had been executed, we insert the "Editor's Preface" to the second volume:

"The Preface to the first volume of the Revised Edition of Clarke's Commentary on the New Testament set forth with sufficient fullness the principles which had been adopted respecting the whole work. But the rules there indicated, as those according to which the revision of that volume had been made, have, from the necessities of the case, led to more considerable emendations and additions than seemed to be necessary in the former portion of the work. But in respect to the editor's sympathies with the views and opinions of his author, all that is there said may be here repeated and emphasized; and the fidelity to the general doctrinal opinions of the original work has been honestly adhered to, not simply as a voke, but gladly, as felicitously indicating the mind of the Spirit as revealed in the written word. But in bringing the work of expounding and illustrating the apostolical writings up to the higher plane on which biblical learning now stands, as compared with its position fifty years ago, very considerable modifications have seemed to be necessary. and wherever that has appeared they have been made. All these, however, it is believed, have been made along the lines of the development of truth which the original work clearly marked out and pursued to a greater extent than had been done at that date by any other writer using the English language; for, as a biblical scholar and exegete, Dr. Clarke was at least a quarter of a century-perhaps twice that time-in advance of the learning of his age. But the regions in which he was a pioneer have since been

thoroughly explored, and the results, constituting a rich store of scriptural learning, duly appropriated. The reviser has sought to build the results thus obtained into the structure of evangelical and rational biblical theology, whose foundations he found so admirably made to his hands in the original. He therefore flatters himself that the now completed work of New Testament revision, while necessarily supplementary to the original, is in no important particular out of harmony with its spirit and purport; and that whatever has been added is substantially of the same character with the primitive stock. To pervert an author's meanings, while still utilizing his name and reputation, would savor of dishonesty; while to reproduce error or suppress truth would indicate a lack of prudence at once dishonorable and unjust.

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"Special attention has been devoted to the Prefaces and In-

troductions to the several epistles. It was necessary that these should be brief and concise, and it was also desirable that they should present the literary history and the occasion of the writing of each epistle; especially as these things tend to throw light upon the text. The results rather than the processes of inquiry are given; and as far as possible the time and place of the writing of each epistle, the people addressed, and the special occasion that called it forth, are considered. In these brief documents a large amount of valuable learning is given in a concise but comprehensive form, derived from the best sources; and while the information they give is necessary to the proper understanding of the several epistles, it is believed that for all non-professional students of the Bible they will prove sufficient helps in the matters of which they treat. For all others, distinct works, treatises, or manuals are required.

"In closing a work to which a large share of his time, for more than three and a half years, has been devoted, the editor would render devout thanks for the good Providence that has blessed him with health and strength for his work and enabled him to bring it to completion. The intimate mental and spiritual relations into which it has brought him to the divine word and its great Author have at once confirmed his faith and enlarged his appreciation of the inestimable value of the Holy Scriptures, and assured him, by a blessed experience, that Christ reveals himself to those who seek for him in the written word."

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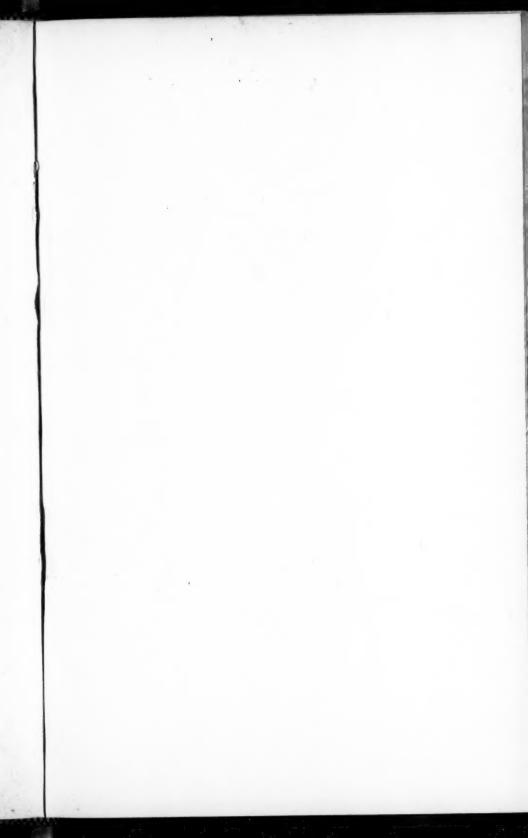
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